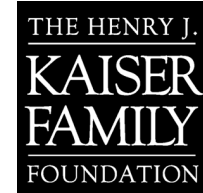

Summary and Chartpack



Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University

Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy

March 2004

Methodology

The *Washington Post*/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University Survey Project is a three-way partnership and an experiment in combining survey research and reporting to better inform the public. The *Post*, Kaiser, and Harvard jointly design and analyze surveys examining public knowledge, perceptions, and misperceptions on major issues. The *Post* then reports the results as well as facts to dispel myths and misperceptions.

The current *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* is a nationally representative survey of South African citizens ages 18 years and older. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in nine of South Africa's eleven official languages between September 29 and November 7, 2003. The survey sample was designed as a probability based, nationally representative sample, stratified by province, race, age, and urban/rural divisions using data from the 2001 Census of South Africa. Sampling was done in three stages: the first stage was a random selection of enumeration areas (EAs) in the country; the second stage was a random selection of dwelling units/stands within the EA; and the third stage was a random selection of an eligible respondent within the dwelling. The final sample included 2,961 South Africans, including 1,715 Black South Africans, 612 Whites, 364 Coloureds, and 265 Indians. All results have been weighted to be representative of the South African population by province, geographic area type, age, race, and gender.

The margin of sampling error for total respondents is +/-3 percentage points. For Black respondents it is +/-4 percentage points, for Whites it is +/-9 percentage points, for Coloureds it is +/-9 percentage points, and for Indians it is +/-8 percentage points. For responses based on subgroups, the margin of sampling error is higher. Sampling error is only one of many potential sources of error in this or any other public opinion poll.

Representatives of *The Washington Post*, The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, and Harvard University worked together to develop the survey questionnaire and analyze the results. Each organization bears the sole responsibility for the work that appears under its name. The project team included Richard Morin, *The Washington Post* director of polling; Drew E. Altman, president of the Kaiser Family Foundation, Mollyann Brodie, vice president and director of public opinion and media research, and Elizabeth Hamel, senior research associate; and Robert J. Blendon, professor of health policy and political analysis at the John F. Kennedy School of Government and the Harvard School of Public Health, and John M. Benson, managing director of the Harvard Opinion Research Program in the Harvard School of Public Health. Fieldwork for this survey was conducted by Development Research Africa (DRA) of Durban, South Africa. Dr. David Stoker of Statistics South Africa served as a consultant on this project in drawing the sample and weighting the data.

SURVEY FINDINGS

Ten years after the fall of apartheid and the birth of a new democracy, South Africans will go to the polls in April 2004 for their third national election. During the past ten years, the people of South Africa have witnessed dramatic changes in their government, and, as a result, in their daily lives. *The Washington Post*, the Kaiser Family Foundation, and Harvard University conducted a nationally representative survey of South Africans just a few months before the election, in order to shed light on South Africans' views about democracy in general, and their government in particular. The survey also sought to explore perceptions of how things have changed since the end of apartheid, as well as perceived challenges for the future, including issues such as unemployment, crime, race relations, and HIV/AIDS. Finally, the survey included many questions designed to illuminate the real-life experiences of South Africans, and the struggles and successes they face on a daily basis.

A note on the racial categories used in this document: Under the apartheid government, all South Africans were classified according to one of four racial categories – Black, White, Coloured, or Indian. While these categories were used by the apartheid government to keep the races separate, today they are used to track the progress of groups who were previously disadvantaged by apartheid. (See Chart 1 for the distribution of the South African population by racial group.)

OVERALL DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY

Overall, South Africans feel their country is going in the right direction, but they report that unemployment, crime, HIV/AIDS, and housing are the most important problems facing South Africa that the government should address.

- Nearly six in ten South Africans (59%) say their country is going in the right direction, compared with about four in ten (39%) who say it's going in the wrong direction. While nearly two-thirds (65%) of Blacks say the country is going in the right direction, majorities of Coloureds (51%), Indians (67%), and Whites (58%) say it is going in the wrong direction (Chart 2).
- About six in ten South Africans (61%) say that unemployment is one of the most important problems for the government to address (Chart 3). Blacks (72%) are much more likely than Coloureds (36%), Whites (24%), and Indians (7%) to name unemployment in this question (Chart 4).
- More than four in ten South Africans (43%) say crime is one of the most important problems for the government to address. Indians (78%) and Whites (72%) are more likely than Coloureds (53%) and Blacks (36%) to name crime in this question.
- HIV/AIDS is named by nearly a quarter (24%) of South Africans as one of the most important problems for the government to address, including 25% of Blacks, 15% of Coloureds, 18% of Indians, and 23% of Whites.
- One in five South Africans (20%) name housing as one of the most important problems for the government to address, including 22% of Blacks, 24% of Coloureds, 13% of Indians, and 5% of Whites.
- Transportation ranks lower as a problem for the government to address named by South Africans overall (7%, ranking 12th overall); however, it is the second-ranking problem among Indians (39%), and the third-ranking problem among Coloureds (28%). Similarly, government corruption ranks 8th, named by 11% of South Africans overall, but it is the second-ranking problem among Whites (26%).

RATINGS OF GOVERNMENT

When rating their government, South Africans give credit in some areas (including housing and education) and offer harsh criticism in others (including crime and unemployment). Local and provincial governments receive lower ratings in general than the national government.

- More than seven in ten South Africans (72%) say they have a favorable impression of their President, Thabo Mbeki, and more than six in ten (62%) approve of the way Mbeki is handling his job as President (Chart 5).
- For the most part, South Africans approve of the way the national government is handling education (66% approve), the economy (58%), and housing (53%). However, majorities disapprove of the way the national government is handling jobs/unemployment (85% disapprove), crime (74%), the situation in Zimbabwe (56%), and HIV/AIDS (55%) (Chart 6).
- Most South Africans say the national government is doing a poor (17%) or only fair (40%) job overall. Nearly a quarter (26%) say the government is doing a good job, while about one in six (15%) say the government is doing an excellent job. However, more than half of South Africans (58%) say they have at least some confidence in the national government to solve problems.
- Ratings are somewhat lower for provincial and local governments. Just over a third (36%) say their provincial government is doing a good or excellent job, while three in ten (30%) say the same about their local government (Chart 7).
- South Africans give credit to their government for perceived successes (59% say the government has kept its promise to provide houses to the people – Chart 8), but also criticize its perceived shortcomings (73% say the government is doing too little to create jobs – Chart 9, 57% say it is doing too little to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS, and 58% say it is doing too little to treat people infected with HIV – Chart 10).
- While just over half of South Africans overall (53%) say they approve of the way the national government is handling the housing situation, majorities of Coloureds (69%), Indians (68%), and Whites (55%) say they disapprove. Similarly, nearly six in ten (59%) overall say the government has kept its promise to provide houses to the people, but majorities of Coloureds (58%), Indians (63%), and Whites (57%) say the government has not kept this promise (Chart 8).

DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA

For the most part, democracy has taken hold in South Africa, but concerns about quality of life and individual economic security are paramount for many South Africans.

There are many good signs for democracy (Chart 11):

- Three-quarters (75%) of South Africans say they are “absolutely certain” to vote in the upcoming election.
- About seven in ten (71%) say democracy is preferable to any other kind of government, up from six in ten (60%) in the 2000 Afrobarometer survey .
- Nearly eight in ten (78%) say democracy has been a good thing for South Africa.
- More than eight in ten (81%) say South Africa will remain a democratic country, up from just over half (54%) in the *Reality Check* survey conducted in 1998 (Chart 12).

...BUT many people are hungry for leadership:

- When given the choice, more than four in ten (44%) say that when democracy doesn’t work, we need a strong leader who doesn’t have to bother with elections, while just over half (55%) say that even when things don’t work, democracy is always best (Chart 13).

...AND economic security is at least as important to people as democracy:

- When asked whether a good democracy or a strong economy is more important, a third each choose a good democracy (33%) and a strong economy (33%), while another third (32%) say they are equally important (Chart 13).
- People define democracy both in terms of political freedoms as well as economic security. Most people agree that freedom of religion (83%), the right to a fair trial (82%), regular elections (80%), freedom to criticize the government (65%), and at least two parties competing (57%) are very important in order for a society to be called democratic. However, nearly all South Africans (95%) say that basic necessities like food, shelter, and water for everyone are very important for a society to be called democratic, and a majority (55%) say the same thing about a small income gap between the rich and the poor (Chart 14).

People recognize many factors as potential threats to democracy in South Africa, and many are concerned about the amount of power held by the ANC.

- Majorities say that crime (81%), the HIV/AIDS epidemic (76%), and the gap between rich and poor (57%) are serious threats to democracy, while nearly half (49%) say the same thing about the situation in Zimbabwe. Whites are much less likely to say that the gap between rich and poor (33% of Whites compared with 62% of Blacks) and HIV/AIDS (39% of Whites compared with 82% of Blacks) are serious threats to democracy (Chart 15).
- Nearly seven in ten South Africans (68%) say the ANC has too much power. However, while a majority of Whites (88%) and Coloureds (51%) and a plurality of Indians (47%) say it would be a bad thing if the ANC became the only political party in South Africa, a plurality of Blacks (48%) say this would be a good thing.
- Two-thirds of South Africans (67%) say that if a community supports one political party, other parties should be allowed to campaign in that area, but a significant minority (32%), including nearly four in ten Blacks (39%) say this should NOT be allowed.

South Africans recognize the importance of participating in the political process, but many find it confusing, and many are doubtful about the interest of young people in politics.

- Almost half (47%) of South Africans say that politics affects everyone, and it's very important to be as involved as possible, while 44% say they don't really like politics, but it's important to keep in touch with what's happening. Fewer than one in ten (9%) say that politics is a waste of time and they don't care about it (Chart 16). In addition, nearly three-quarters (74%) say it is important who is in power because it can make a difference as to what happens, while 25% say it doesn't really matter who is in power because in the end things go on much the same.
- Majorities of Blacks (58%), Coloureds, (56%), and Indians (58%) say that sometimes politics and government is so complicated they can't understand it, while a majority of Whites (59%) say they usually feel they can understand what's going on. In addition, a majority of South Africans (54%) say that in South Africa, you must be very careful what you say and do with regards to politics.
- Six in ten South African adults (60%) say they think young people today are less interested in politics than young people were ten years ago. Indeed, Blacks ages 18-30 (73%) are less likely than Blacks over 30 (82%) to say they're absolutely certain to vote in the next election. Similarly, Whites ages 18-30 (42%) are much less likely than their older White counterparts (71%) to say they're absolutely certain to vote. However, South Africans are more divided on the question of whether young people today mostly remember (47%) or have mostly forgotten (50%) about the struggle against apartheid.

HOW THINGS HAVE CHANGED SINCE APARTHEID

When it comes to how things have changed since apartheid, there is agreement in some areas – most agree that race relations have improved and that crime and unemployment have gotten worse. In other areas, there is more disagreement – for instance, most Blacks and Coloureds say education has gotten better, while most Whites and Indians say it has gotten worse (Chart 17 & Chart 18).

- Majorities in all racial groups agree that race relations have gotten better since the end of apartheid (71% of Blacks, 67% of Coloureds, 55% of Indians, and 54% of Whites).
- There is also agreement that certain things have gotten worse since the end of apartheid, including crime (50% of Blacks, 57% of Coloureds, 80% of Indians, and 89% of Whites) and unemployment (76% of Blacks, 73% of Coloureds, 87% of Indians, and 89% of Whites).
- When it comes to other issues, there is disagreement among the racial groups as to whether things have gotten better or worse. For instance, most Blacks (81%) and Coloureds (52%) say the quality of education has gotten better since the end of apartheid, while most Indians (60%) and Whites (70%) say it has gotten worse. Similarly, most Blacks (63%) say health care has gotten better, while most Whites (70%) and a plurality of Indians (49%) say it has gotten worse, and Coloureds are more divided (43% say better and 41% say worse). Similar patterns are seen with regards to the economy, housing, and the quality of government services.
- Large majorities of all racial groups (72% of Blacks, 85% of Coloureds, 79% of Indians, and 63% of Whites) say that the quality of life of Black people has gotten better since the end of apartheid. Most South Africans say the quality of life of White people in general has gotten better (47%) or stayed the same (34%) since apartheid ended, though a majority of Whites (55%, compared with 17% of South Africans overall) say the quality of life of White people has gotten worse. Coloureds are divided as to whether the quality of life of Coloured people has gotten better (32%) or worse (34%), or has stayed the same (34%). Indians are similarly divided about changes in the quality of life of Indian people (24% better, 36% worse, 40% same).
- Despite all of these differences, just over one in ten say they would go back to apartheid, including 10% of Blacks, 13% of Coloureds, 37% of Indians, and 19% of Whites (Chart 19).

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA – OPINIONS AND WORRIES

For the most part, South Africans are optimistic about their country's future, and they believe that most aspects of life in South Africa will improve in the next five years.

- Seven in ten South Africans (70%) say they are optimistic about their country's future, including 75% of Blacks, 61% of Coloureds, 62% of Indians, and 47% of Whites (Chart 20).
- When it comes to a variety of specific areas, more South Africans say things will improve than say they will get worse in the next five years, including education (75% say it will improve vs. 13% say it will get worse), race relations (70% vs. 11%), health care (67% vs. 19%), the economy (67% vs. 16%), and quality of life (66% vs. 17%). South Africans are more split on the question of crime; 40% say it will improve, and 42% say it will get worse in the next five years (Chart 21).
- About six in ten South Africans (61%) say that the financial situation of future generations will be better than their own financial situation is today, compared with 22% who say it will be worse, and 14% who say it will be about the same.

South Africans say they are personally worried about a variety of things, including being the victim of crime and racism, getting HIV, losing or not being able to get a job, and having their land confiscated by the government.

- Large majorities of South Africans say they are very worried about being the victim of a violent crime (84%), not having enough money to live on (84%), becoming infected with HIV (79%), losing a job or not being able to get a job (78%), having their land confiscated by the government (63%), and being discriminated against because of their racial or ethnic background (62%) (Chart 22).
- Whites are substantially less likely to say they worry about most things we asked about, including not having enough money to live on (56% of Whites say they're very worried compared with 90% of Blacks), losing or not being able to get a job (49% of Whites and 83% of Blacks), and becoming infected with HIV (43% of Whites and 86% of Blacks).

TRENDS SINCE 1998

Compared to 1998, South Africans in 2003 are more optimistic and more likely to say participating in politics is very important. They have more confidence in some institutions and less confidence in others, and changes in their perceptions of race relations are also somewhat mixed.

- South Africans are more optimistic in 2003. They are much more likely to say that South Africa will remain a democratic country (81% in 2003 vs. 54% in 1998), and more people say the economy is getting better (46% vs. 15%) and their personal financial situation is getting better (23% vs. 14%). Looking forward to the next five years, more people say there will be improvements in education (75% in 2003 vs. 65% in 1998), race relations (70% vs. 58%), health care (67% vs. 55%), the economy (67% vs. 49%), and quality of life (66% vs. 55%) (Chart 23).
- People are more likely in 2003 than they were in 1998 to say that politics affects everyone and it's important to be as involved as possible (47% vs. 36%).
- People report higher levels of confidence in some institutions and lower levels of confidence in others since 1998 (Chart 24). More people in 2003 report having a great deal or a lot of confidence in the churches (71% in 2003 vs. 64% in 1998), the media (65% vs. 54%), the South African National Defense Force (55% vs. 34%), and the South African Police Service (38% vs. 33%). However, fewer people in 2003 report having a great deal or a lot of confidence in parliament (45% in 2003 vs. 56% in 1998), provincial government (41% vs. 48%), and local government (32% vs. 44%).
- South Africans' perceptions of progress on race relations is somewhat mixed between 1998 and 2003. People are somewhat more likely now to say South Africa is becoming a united nation (22% in 2003 vs. 14% in 1998), but the same share say South Africans will always be divided (21% vs. 22%), and a somewhat smaller share say that it will take a long time, but South Africa will eventually become united (56% vs. 63%) (Chart 25).
- More people today agree that Blacks and Whites will never trust each other (65% vs. 44% in 1998). However, more people say that in the new South Africa, Blacks can make it to the top (86% in 2003 vs. 77% in 1998), and more people say it would not bother them if their children married someone of a different race (55% vs. 45%) (Chart 26).

SPOTLIGHT ISSUE: HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS and a culture of illness and death is very much a part of the South African landscape.

- Although just one percent of South Africans say that they or someone in their family suffers from HIV/AIDS, larger shares say that they or a family member suffers from diseases that may be HIV-related, including tuberculosis (10%), unexplained weight loss (8%), and chronic diarrhea (2%). Nearly one in five South Africans (19%) say that someone in their family suffers from at least one of these conditions. In addition, six percent say they are currently taking care of a child whose parents died from one of these chronic diseases, and nearly three in ten (28%) say they know a close friend or relative who has died of AIDS (Chart 27).
- About eight in ten South Africans (79%) say they are very worried about becoming infected with HIV. Blacks (86%) are the most likely, and Whites (43%) are the least likely to say they are very worried.
- Funeral attendance is high in South Africa, particularly among Blacks. Sixty-two percent of South Africans (71% of Blacks) say they have been to at least one funeral in the last month, and 21% of South Africans (26% of Blacks) say they have been to four or more (Chart 28).
- Nearly all South Africans (91%) know that there is no cure for AIDS, but just over half (55%) know that there is a treatment available that helps people with AIDS live longer.
- Two-thirds of South Africans (67%) say that HIV/AIDS in South Africa is a crisis, and more than three-quarters (76%) say it is a serious threat to democracy.
- Six in ten (60%) South Africans overall say businesses have a responsibility to pay for testing and treatment for workers affected by HIV/AIDS, while 37% say it is not the responsibility of business. Majorities of Blacks (65%), Coloureds (71%), and Indians (65%) say businesses have a responsibility, while nearly three-quarters of Whites (73%) say this is not the responsibility of business. Just over half of South Africans (54%) say it is very or somewhat likely that businesses will avoid investing in South Africa because of HIV/AIDS, while around four in ten (41%) say this is not too likely or not likely at all.

SPOTLIGHT ISSUE: RACE RELATIONS

A large majority of South Africans agree that race relations have improved since apartheid, but some of the “old attitudes” still exist.

- Just over two thirds of South Africans (68%) say that race relations have gotten better since the end of apartheid, and 86% agree that in the new South Africa, Black people can make it to the top.
- However, nearly two thirds (65%) agree that Black people and White people will never trust each other, including 68% of Blacks, 52% of Whites, 66% of Coloureds, and 62% of Indians.
- Perhaps the greatest indicator from this survey that race relation challenges still exist, just 12% of Whites and 31% of Indians agree that it would not bother them if their children married someone of a different race. By contrast, 64% of Blacks and 54% of Coloureds say they agree with this statement.

South Africans generally express favorable opinions of people in different racial groups, though a small minority in all racial groups express unfavorable views of people different from themselves.

- Majorities in all racial groups say they have a favorable opinion of Black people. However, more than two in ten Indians (23%) and Whites (21%) say their opinion of Black people is unfavorable, along with 17% of Coloureds and 9% of Blacks themselves.
- Majorities of all racial groups say they have a favorable opinion of White people, Coloured people, and Indian/Asian people, though South Africans overall are most likely to say they have an unfavorable opinion of Indian/Asian people (23%, compared with 18% who have an unfavorable opinion of Coloured people, 17% who have an unfavorable opinion of White people, and 11% who have an unfavorable opinion of Black people).

DIFFERING OPINIONS BY RACE

Blacks are the most optimistic racial group in South Africa, and they are most likely to give their government high ratings and to have confidence in government.

- When asked whether the country is going in the right direction or the wrong direction, nearly two-thirds (65%) of Black South Africans say right direction, compared with smaller shares of Coloureds (44%), Indians (30%), and Whites (36%) (Chart 2). Similarly, three-quarters (75%) of Blacks say they are optimistic about South Africa's future, compared with 61% of Coloureds, 62% of Indians, and 47% of Whites (Chart 20).
- In an optimism/pessimism scale based on questions about whether different aspects of life in South Africa will get better, worse, or stay the same in the next five years, nearly half of South Africans (48%) are optimists, about two in ten (19%) are pessimists, and a third (33%) are neutral. This varies greatly according to race, with 55% of Blacks and 49% of Coloureds being optimists, compared with 21% of Indians and just 9% of Whites (Chart 29).
- Black South Africans have more confidence in the national government than Coloureds, Indians, and Whites. Three in ten Blacks (31%) say they have "a lot" of confidence that when the national government decides to solve a problem, it will actually be solved, compared with 16% of Coloureds, 7% of Indians, and just 2% of Whites. Similarly, when asked how much confidence they have in the national parliament, 54% of Blacks say "a great deal" or "quite a lot," compared with 34% of Coloureds, 14% of Indians, and 5% of Whites (Chart 30).
- We divided South Africans into self-perceived "winners" and "losers" in the post-apartheid era based on whether they felt most things had gotten better or worse since the end of apartheid (Chart 31). Overall, 29% of South Africans are winners, 18% are losers, and the remaining half (53%) are somewhere in the middle. Blacks are the most likely to perceive themselves as winners (35% of Blacks, 17% of Coloureds, 4% of Indians, and 2% of Whites), and the least likely to perceive themselves as losers (11% of Blacks, 24% of Coloureds, 50% of Indians, and 50% of Whites).

While many Whites express dissatisfaction and pessimism about the future of South Africa, there is diversity of opinion among Whites, and about half of them express opinions that are substantially more positive.

- White South Africans can be divided into “cranky” Whites (those who mostly feel that things have gotten worse since the end of apartheid – 50% of all Whites) and “more content” Whites (those who feel that most things have gotten better or stayed about the same – 47% of all Whites) (Chart 32). This group of more content Whites doesn’t fall into the perceived “winners” overall in South Africa – they fall mainly in the middle category – but this is mostly because of the overwhelming optimism of South African Blacks. Looking at the attitudes expressed by this group of Whites, they are actually quite positive, and if placed within any other population (such as the U.S.), they might be considered “winners.” For instance, majorities of this group of Whites say there have been improvements since the end of apartheid in race relations (78%), housing (60%), the ability of ordinary people to influence government (59%), and the economy (57%). However, there are some areas where even this more content group of Whites say things have gotten worse since apartheid, including crime (78%), government corruption (52%), and health care (55%) (Chart 33).
- While no single demographic jumps out, there are several characteristics that make Whites more likely to fall into the “more content” category (Chart 34). Males, English-speakers, those with a college degree, those whose health status does not limit them in daily life, and those who say they have not been the victim of racism in the last 10 years are more likely than their counterparts to say that things are better since the end of apartheid.
- “Content” Whites are more likely than their “cranky” counterparts to say the country is going in the right direction (54% vs. 20% - Chart 35), that they are optimistic about South Africa’s future (69% vs. 29%), and that the South African economy is getting better (57% vs. 25%).
- When it comes to race relations, 61% of “cranky” Whites say South Africans will always be divided, compared with 26% of “content” Whites.
- Perhaps most importantly, while 32% of “cranky” Whites say they would go back to apartheid, only 5% of “content” Whites say the same thing (Chart 36).

Coloureds generally express attitudes that fall somewhat in between those of Blacks and Whites, while Indians' attitudes are more similar to those of Whites. In many ways, Indians appear to view themselves as the most disenfranchised of all the racial groups in South Africa.

- When it comes to optimism about the future, Coloureds give responses that are more similar to Blacks, while Indians are more similar to Whites. Around half of Blacks (55%) and Coloureds (49%) are optimists, while around half of Whites (52%) and Indians (48%) are pessimists (Chart 29).
- On other scales, the attitudes of Coloureds fall more in between those of Blacks and those of Whites. For instance, 11% of Blacks, 24% of Coloureds, and 50% of both Indians and Whites are self-perceived “losers,” i.e. those who think most things have gotten worse since the end of apartheid (Chart 31). Similarly, when it comes to confidence in the national government, 26% of Blacks, 10% of Coloureds, 4% of Indians, and 1% of Whites have high levels of confidence.
- Around two-thirds of Indians (67%) say that South Africa is going in the wrong direction, compared with 34% of Blacks, 51% of Coloureds, and 58% of Whites.
- Indians are the least likely to say they'll vote in the upcoming general election (46% of Indians say they're absolutely certain to vote, compared with 78% of Blacks, 70% of Coloureds, and 67% of Whites – Chart 37). They are also the least likely to be affiliated with a political party (19% of Indians say they feel close to a particular party, compared with 64% of Blacks, 41% of Coloureds, and 39% of Whites).
- Indians are the most likely to say that a strong economy is more important than a good democracy (48% of Indians compared with 34% of Blacks, 30% of Coloureds, and 31% of Whites). They are also the most likely to say that young people today have mostly forgotten about the struggle against apartheid that resulted in South Africa becoming a democratic country (72% of Indians compared with 47% of Blacks, 56% of Coloureds, and 62% of Whites).
- Perhaps most disturbingly, 37% of Indians say they would go back to apartheid, compared with 10% of Blacks, 13% of Coloureds, and 19% of Whites (Chart 19). Interestingly, however, Indians are the group most likely to say that South Africa will remain a democratic country (87% of Indians compared with 83% of Blacks, 76% of Coloureds, and 74% of Whites).

SOUTH AFRICANS' EXPERIENCES

Ten years after the fall of apartheid, South Africa remains a country of “Haves” (mainly Whites) and “Have nots” (mainly Blacks). Large disparities continue to exist with regards to employment, income, and basic household amenities such as toilet facilities, clean water, and electricity.

- Three quarters or more of Whites (75%), Indians (76%), and Coloureds (78%) live in a household that receives income from someone who works full time, compared with half (50%) of Blacks.
- While nearly all Whites (100%), Indians (99%), Coloureds (93%) have a flush toilet in their home (Chart 38), this amenity is shared by 42% of Black South Africans (45% of Blacks use a pit latrine). Similarly, 95% of Whites, 99% of Indians, and 85% of Coloureds have a water tap inside their house, while among Blacks, 28% have an indoor tap, 32% have an outdoor tap on their property, 28% use community taps, and 7% get their household water from a river or stream (Chart 39).
- Racial disparities are also found in the energy sources used for cooking (99% of Whites, 98% of Indians, and 90% of Coloureds use electricity, compared with 49% of Blacks – Chart 40) and for lighting (99% of Whites, 99% of Indians, and 94% of Coloureds use electricity, compared with 75% of Blacks – Chart 41).
- Blacks, and particularly rural Blacks, are more likely than other groups to be living in poverty (Chart 42). For instance, when asked how often they and their family have gone without enough food to eat in the last year, 21% of Blacks (and 27% of rural Blacks) say “often,” compared with 15% of Coloureds, 3% of Indians, and 3% of Whites. When asked how often in the last year their family has gone without a cash income, 37% of Blacks (and 45% of rural Blacks) say “often,” compared with 17% of Coloureds, 6% of Indians, and 9% of Whites (Chart 43).

Many South Africans report being the victim of crime and racism. Whites and Indians are much more likely than Blacks and Coloureds to say they have had experiences with crime.

- About a third of South Africans (33%) say they have been the victim of crime in the past five years, including a majority of Whites (62%) and Indians (51%), and a smaller share of Coloureds (35%) and Blacks (28%) (Chart 44). In addition, about four in ten South Africans (41%) say that someone close to them – including a family member or close friend – has been the victim of crime in the past five years, including 78% of Whites, 63% of Indians, 49% of Coloureds, and 33% of Blacks.
- A third (33%) of South Africans also say they have been the victim of racism in the past ten years, including similar shares of Blacks (32%), Coloureds (33%), Indians (37%), and Whites (35%).

SIDEBAR: SOUTH AFRICANS' OPINIONS OF PEOPLE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

In contrast to their mostly favorable views of other South Africans, the people of South Africa express much less favorable views of people from other African countries who are living there.

- Just over half of South Africans (52%) say they have an unfavorable opinion of people living in South Africa who are from other African countries, including more than six in ten Coloureds (64%) and Whites (62%), and just about half of Blacks (49%) and Indians (48%) (Chart 45).
- A large majority of South Africans (87%) say they have an unfavorable opinion of those who are living in South Africa illegally, including large majorities of Blacks (85%), Coloureds (92%), Indians (87%), and Whites (93%).

South Africans in general have an unfavorable impression of the United States, particularly Black South Africans and young Whites and Coloureds.

- Fifty-six percent of South Africans overall say they have an unfavorable impression of the United States government, while three in ten (31%) say their impression is favorable (Chart 46). Blacks (61%) are the most likely to say their impression of the U.S. government is unfavorable, while Whites (54%) are the most likely to be favorable, and Coloureds and Indians are more divided (Chart 47).
- When it comes to their impressions of the American people, majorities of all racial groups say they are favorable (Blacks 51% favorable/38% unfavorable, Coloureds 55% favorable/27% unfavorable, Indians 69% favorable/27% unfavorable, Whites 65% favorable/29% unfavorable).
- Among young Whites and Coloureds, impressions of the U.S. government and of the American people are much less favorable than among their older counterparts. Fifty percent of Coloureds and 48% of Whites ages 18-30 have an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. government, compared with 31% of Coloureds and 33% of Whites over age 30. Similarly, 41% of Coloureds and 48% of Whites ages 18-30 have an unfavorable impression of Americans, compared with 18% of Coloureds and 25% of Whites ages 31 and older.
- South Africans overall are not in favor of the U.S. military presence in Iraq, with six in ten (61%) saying they oppose it, and just one in six (16%) saying they support it. Blacks (69%) are the most likely to oppose the U.S. presence in Iraq, while Whites (42%) are the most likely to support it (Chart 48).

Chart 1

Distribution of South African Population by Racial Group

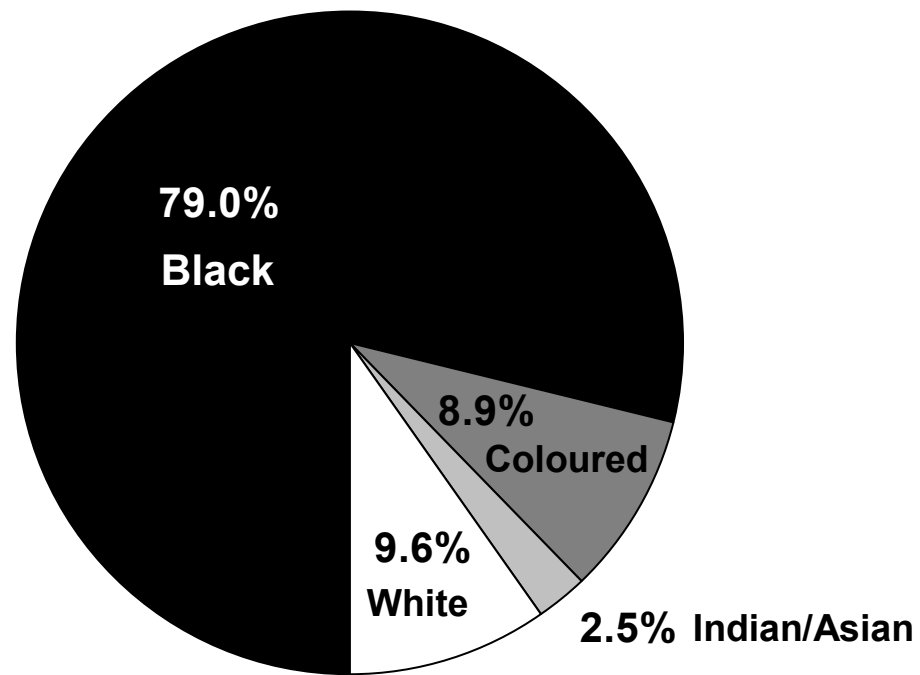
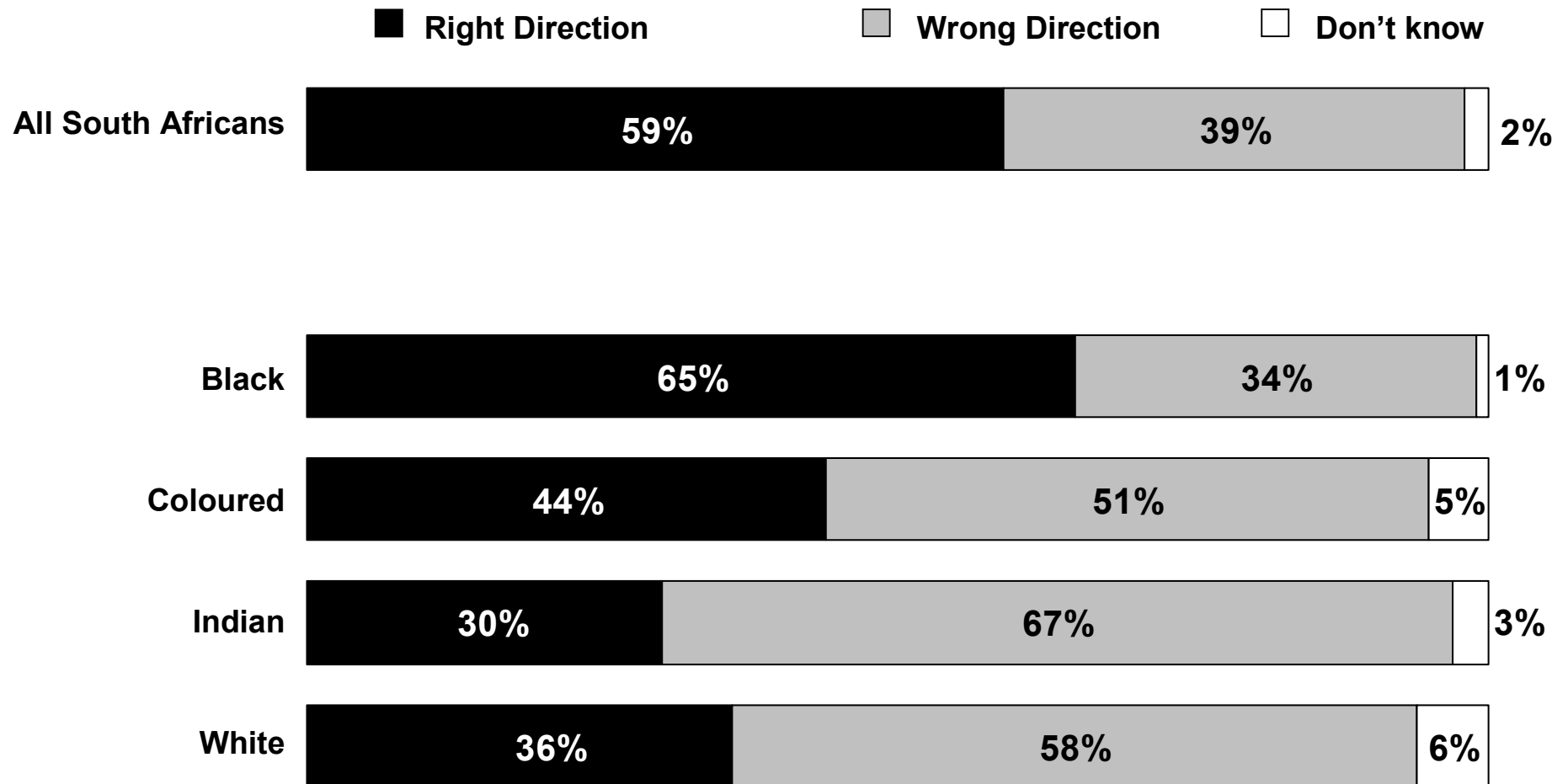


Chart 2

Direction of the Country

Would you say that the country is going in the right direction or going in the wrong direction?

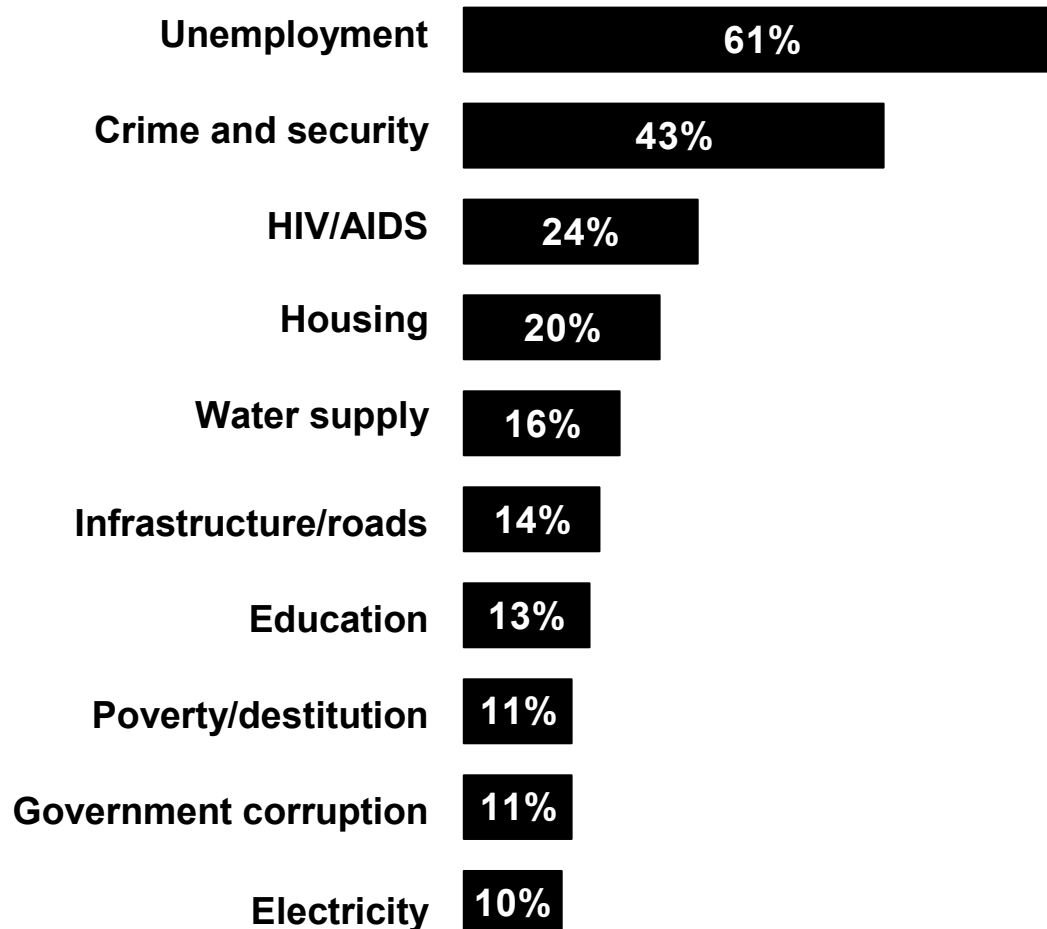


Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 3

Most Important Problems for Government to Address

In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address?



Note: Adds up to more than 100% due to multiple responses.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 4

Most Important Problems for the Government to Address by Race

In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? (Top 5 mentions by race)

Rank	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
1	Unemployment (72%)	Crime and security (53%)	Crime and security (78%)	Crime and security (72%)
2	Crime and security (36%)	Unemployment (36%)	Transportation (39%)	Government corruption (26%)
3	HIV/AIDS (25%)	Transportation (28%)	HIV/AIDS (18%)	Unemployment (24%)
4	Housing (22%)	Housing (24%)	Education (17%)	HIV/AIDS (23%)
5	Water Supply (20%)	HIV/AIDS (15%)	Poverty (17%)	Transportation (14%)

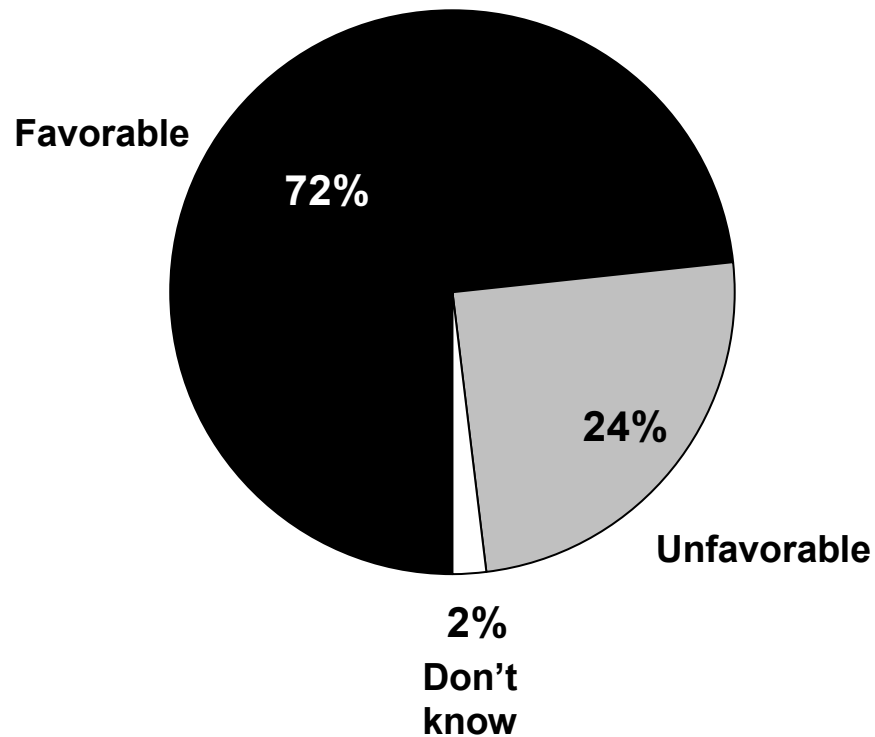
Note: Adds up to more than 100% due to multiple responses.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 5

Ratings of President Mbeki

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Thabo Mbeki?



Do you approve or disapprove of the way Thabo Mbeki is handling his job as president?

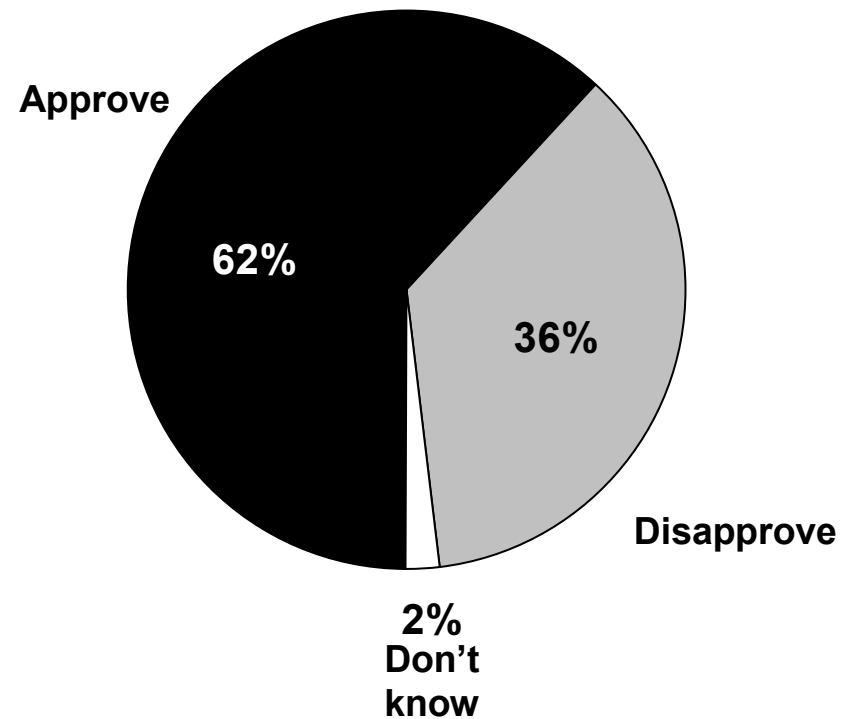
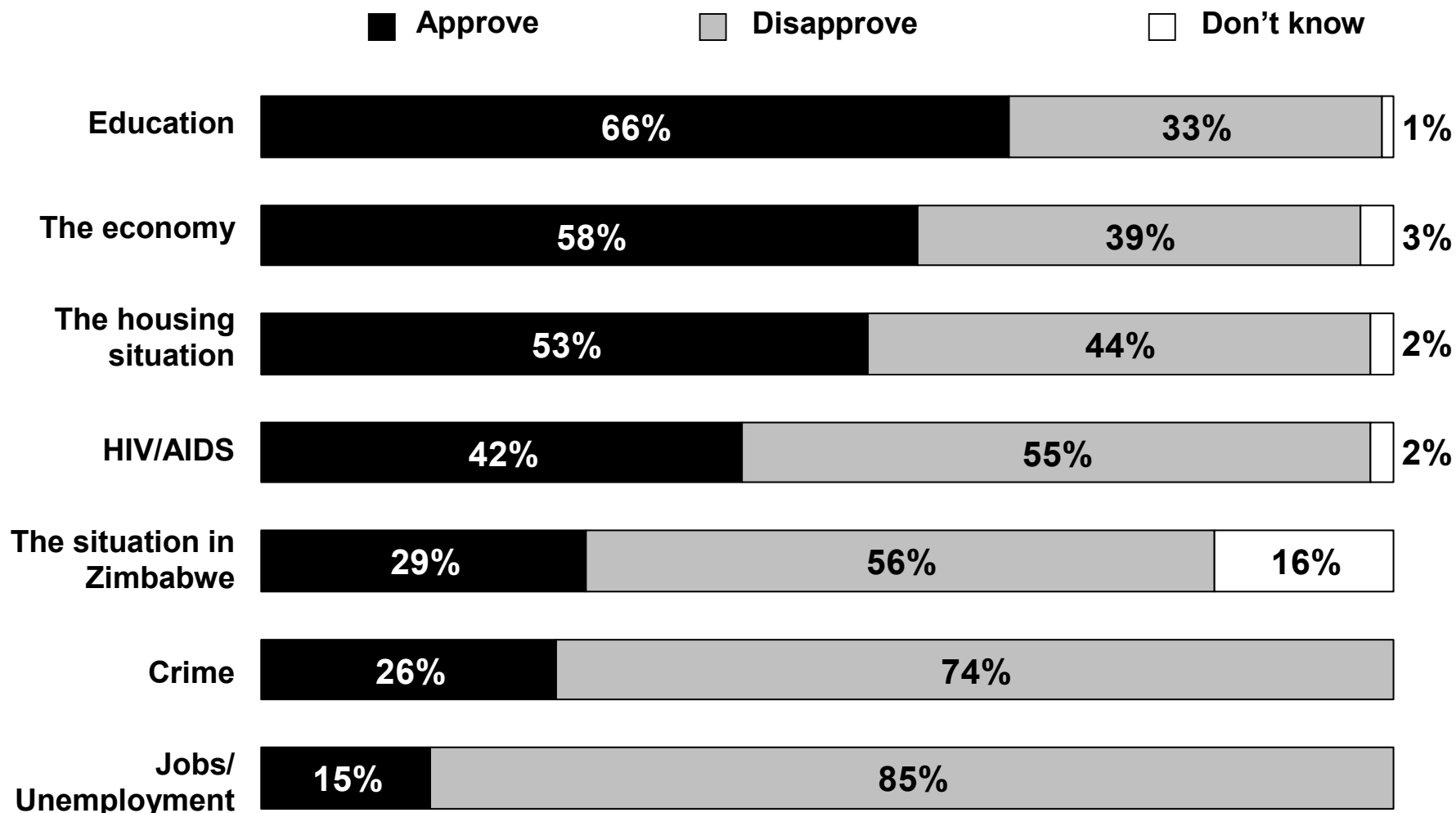


Chart 6

National Government Approval on Different Issues

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Thabo Mbeki and the rest of the national government is handling...



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

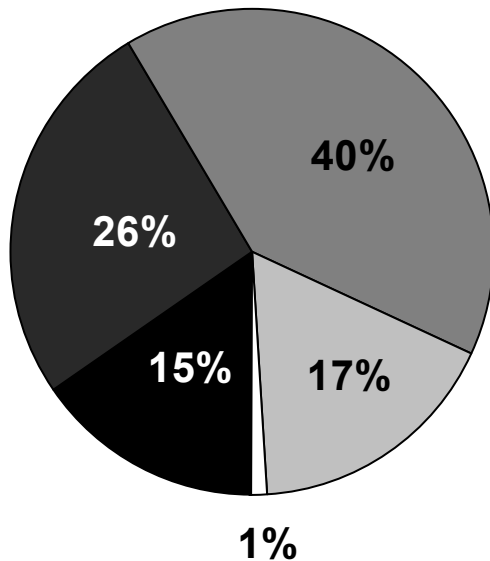
Chart 7

Rating Different Levels of Government

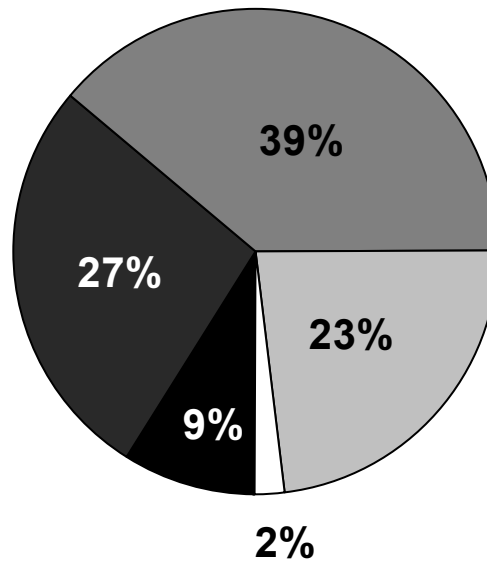
How would you rate the overall job that the [national / provincial / local] government is doing? Is it...

■ Excellent ■ Good ■ Only fair ■ Poor □ Don't know

The national government



Your provincial government



Your local government

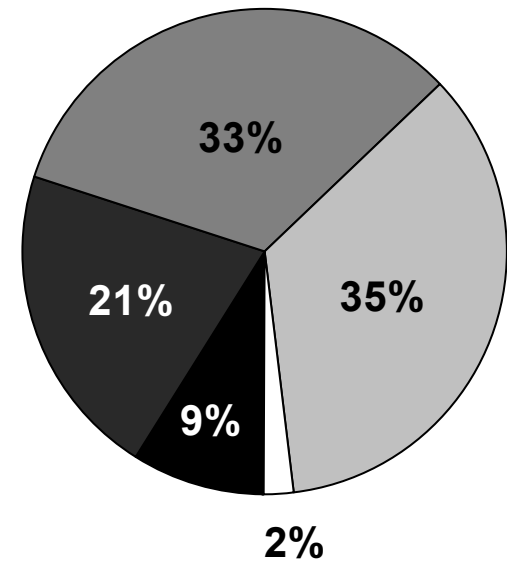
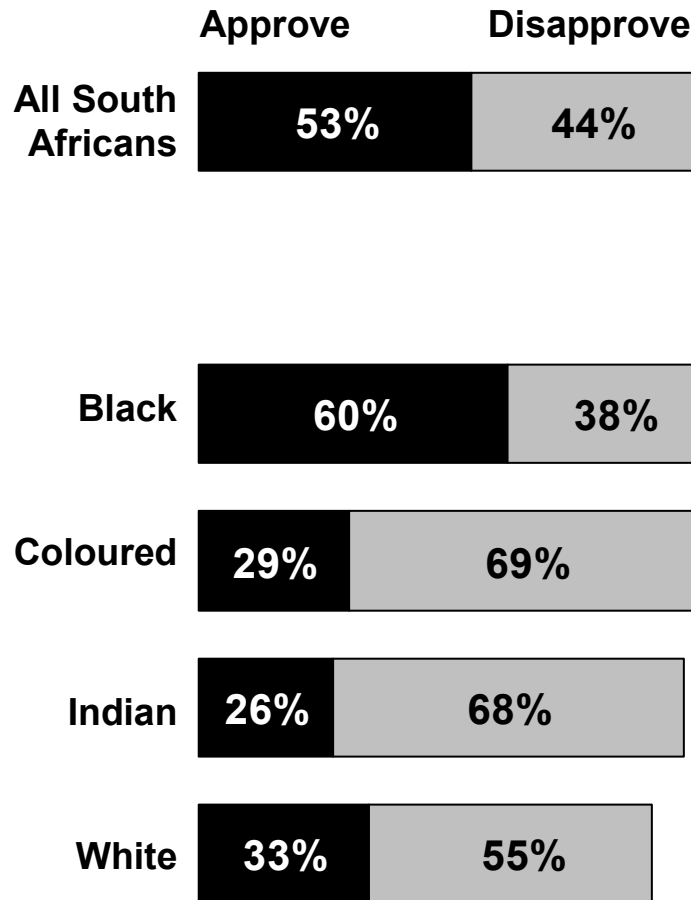


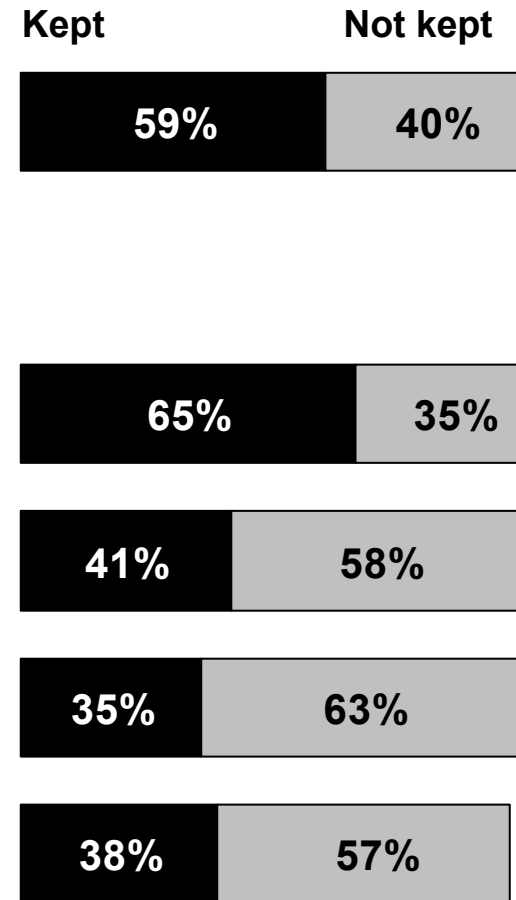
Chart 8

Rating the Government on Housing

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Thabo Mbeki and the rest of the national government is handling the housing situation?



What about housing? Has the government kept its promise to provide houses to the people, or not?



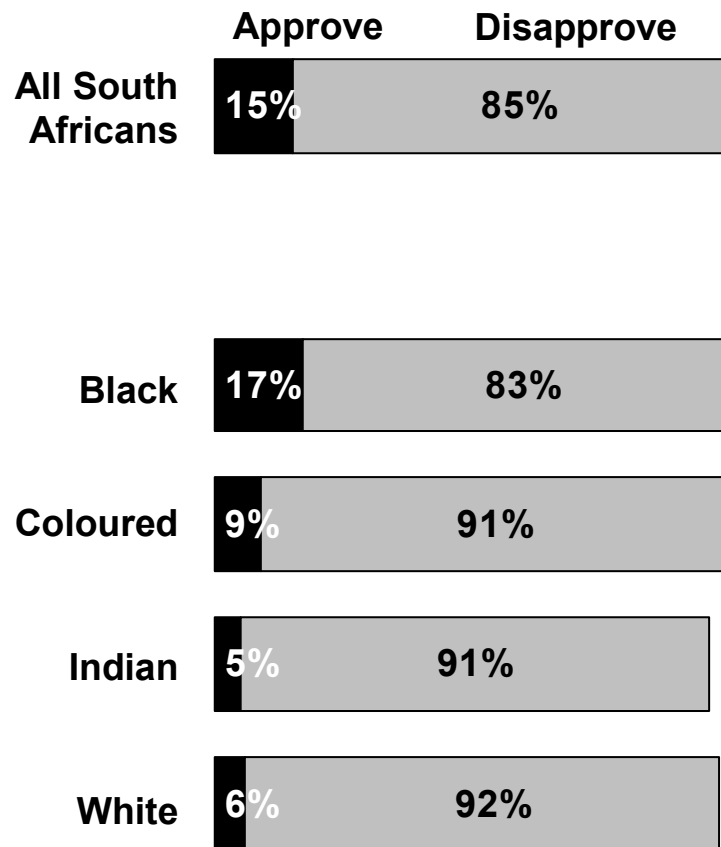
Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

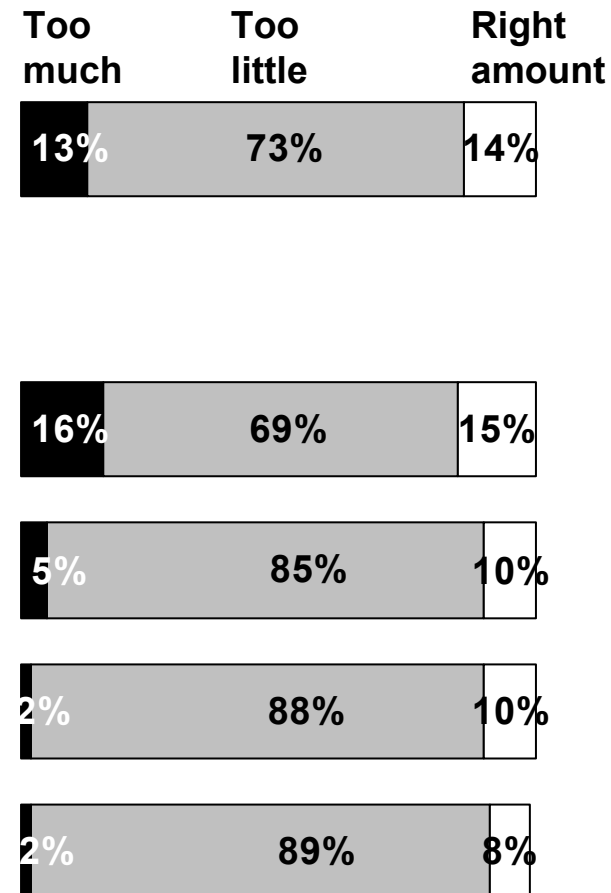
Chart 9

Rating the Government on Jobs and Unemployment

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Thabo Mbeki and the rest of the national government is handling jobs/unemployment?



Do you think the government is doing too much, too little, or about the right amount to create jobs and reduce unemployment?



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

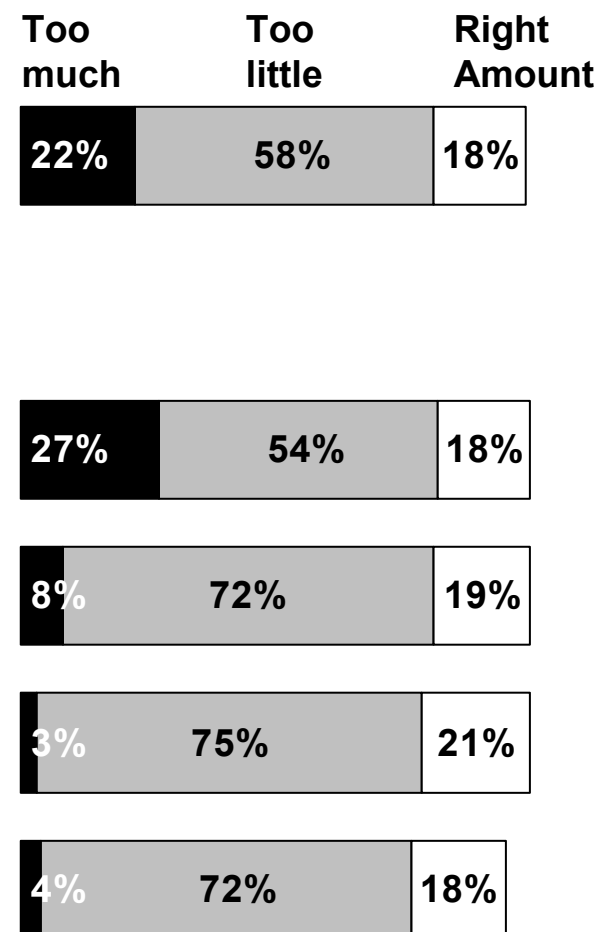
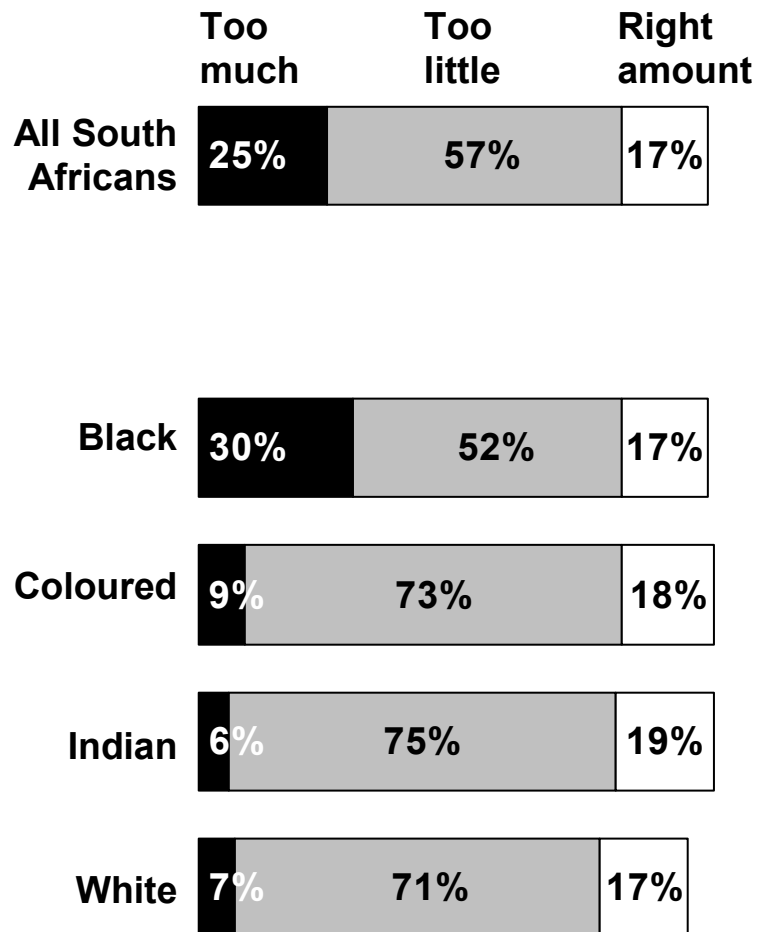
Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 10

Rating the Government on HIV/AIDS

Do you think the government is doing too much, too little, or about the right amount to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS?

Do you think the government is doing too much, too little, or about the right amount to treat people who are infected with HIV/AIDS?

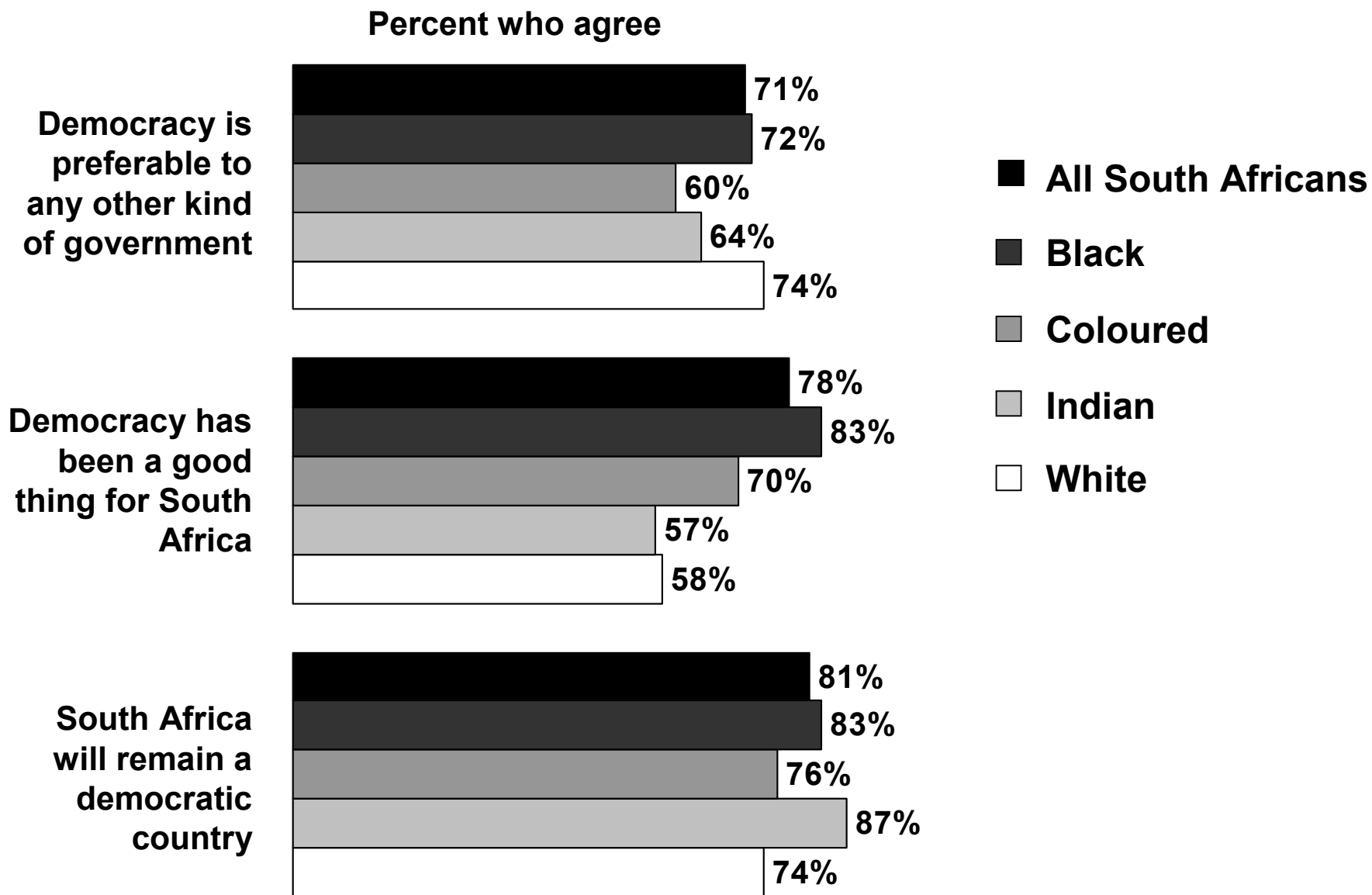


Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 11

South Africans' Attitudes Towards Democracy

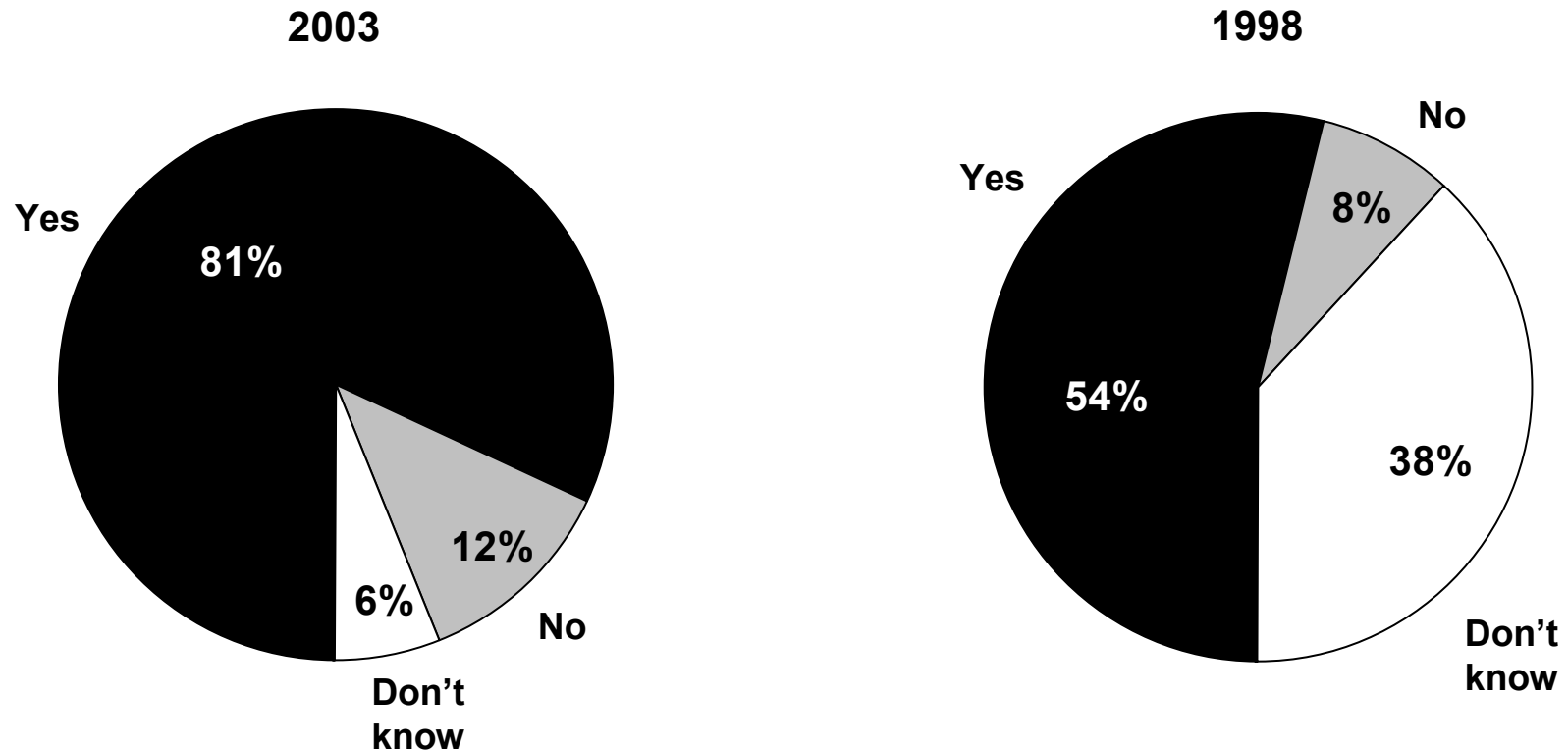


Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 12

Future of Democracy: Trend Since 1998

In your opinion, will South Africa remain a democratic country, or not?*



* Note: In 1998, question wording was: "Thinking ahead to when President Mandela leaves office, will South Africa remain a democratic country, or not?"

Sources: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003); Kaiser Family Foundation/Independent Newspaper Group *Reality Check: South Africans' Views of the New South Africa* (conducted Nov.-Dec., 1998)

Tradeoffs for Democracy

Sometimes democracy does not work. When this happens, some people say that we need a strong leader who doesn't have to bother with elections. Others say that even when things don't work, democracy is always best.

If you had to choose between a good democracy and a strong economy, which would you say is more important?

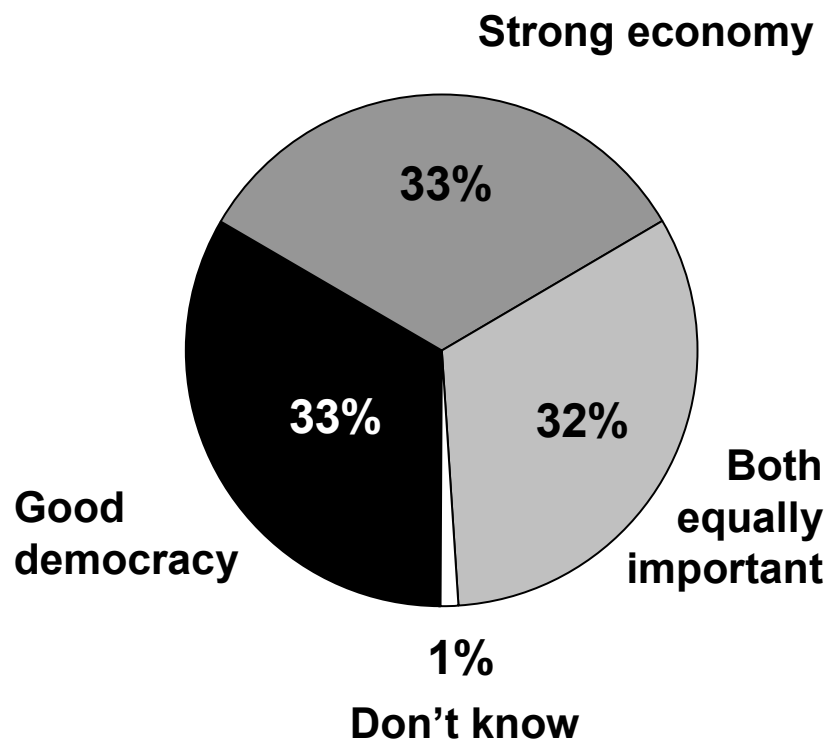
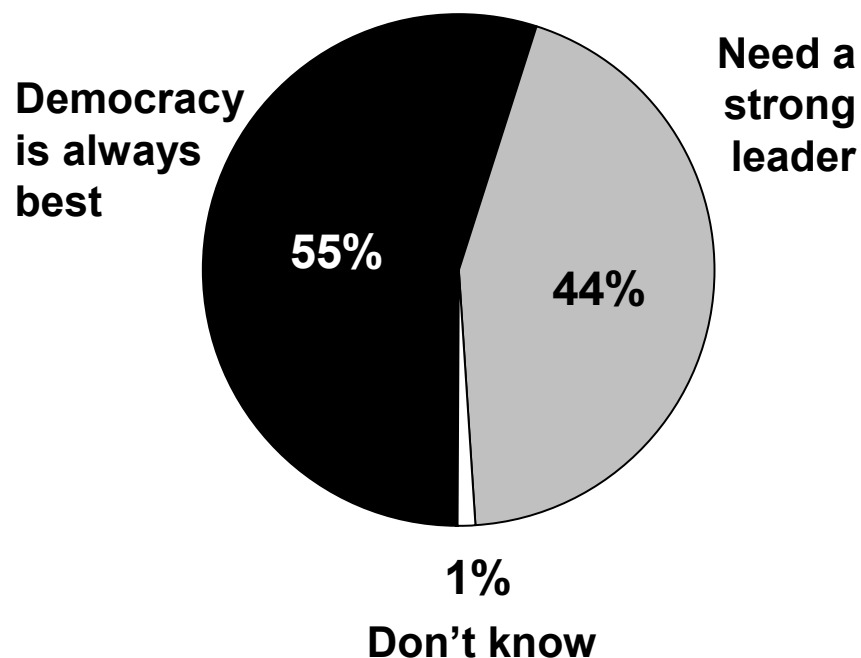
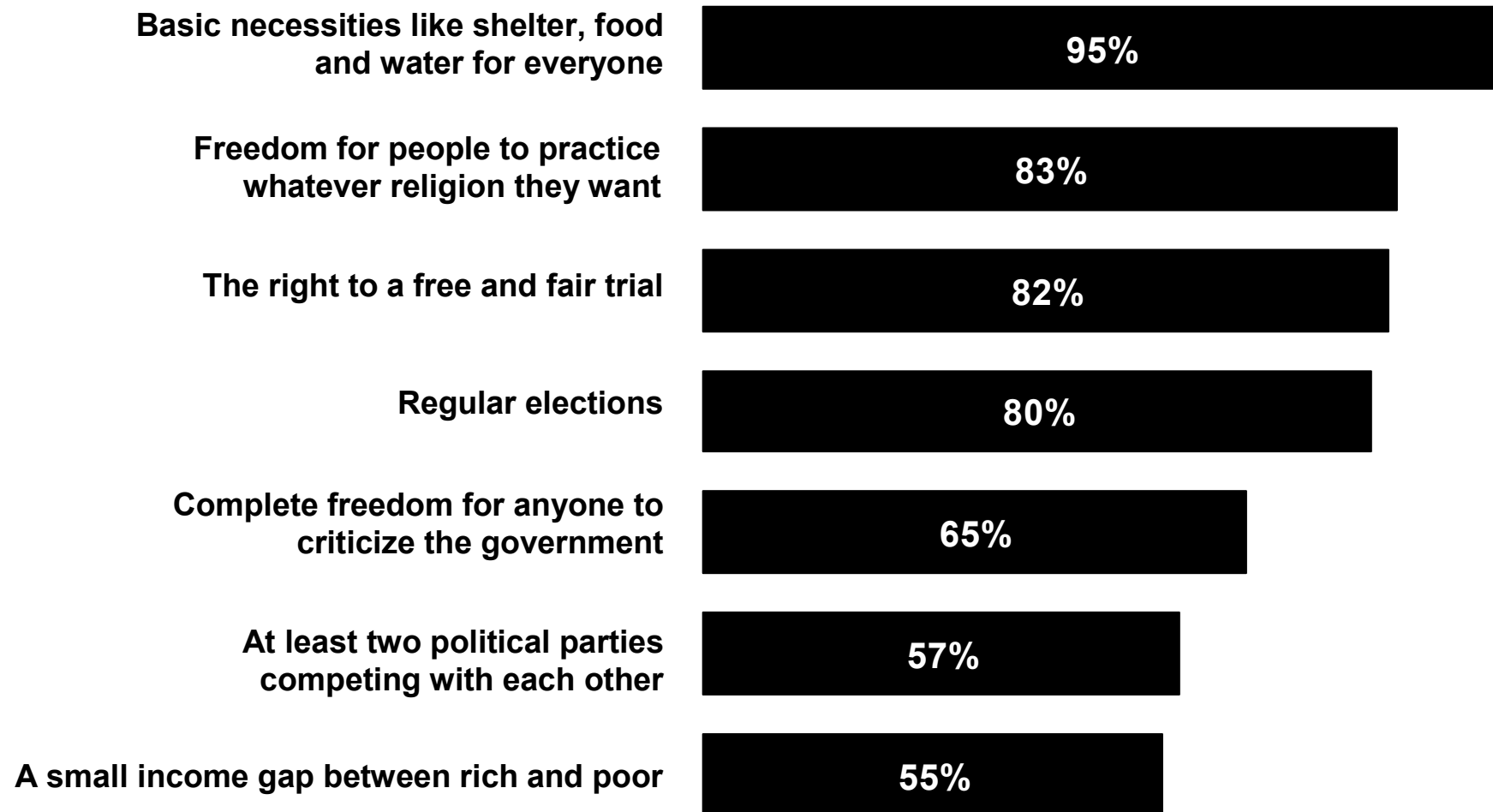


Chart 14

Elements of Democracy

Percent saying each of the following is very important for a society to be called democratic



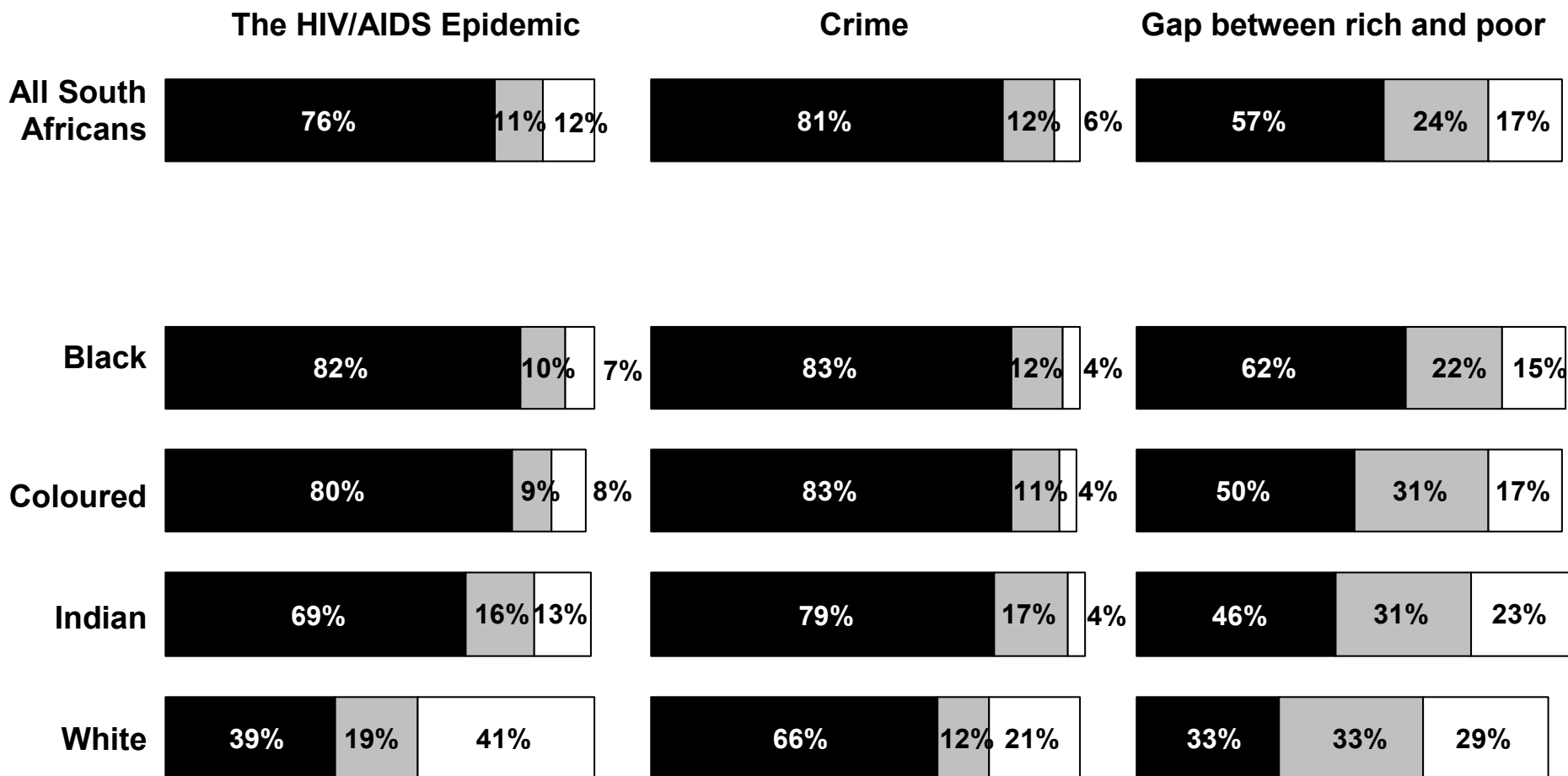
Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 15

Threats to Democracy

Percent who say these factors are a threat to democracy in South Africa

Serious Threat
 Threat
 Not a threat



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 16

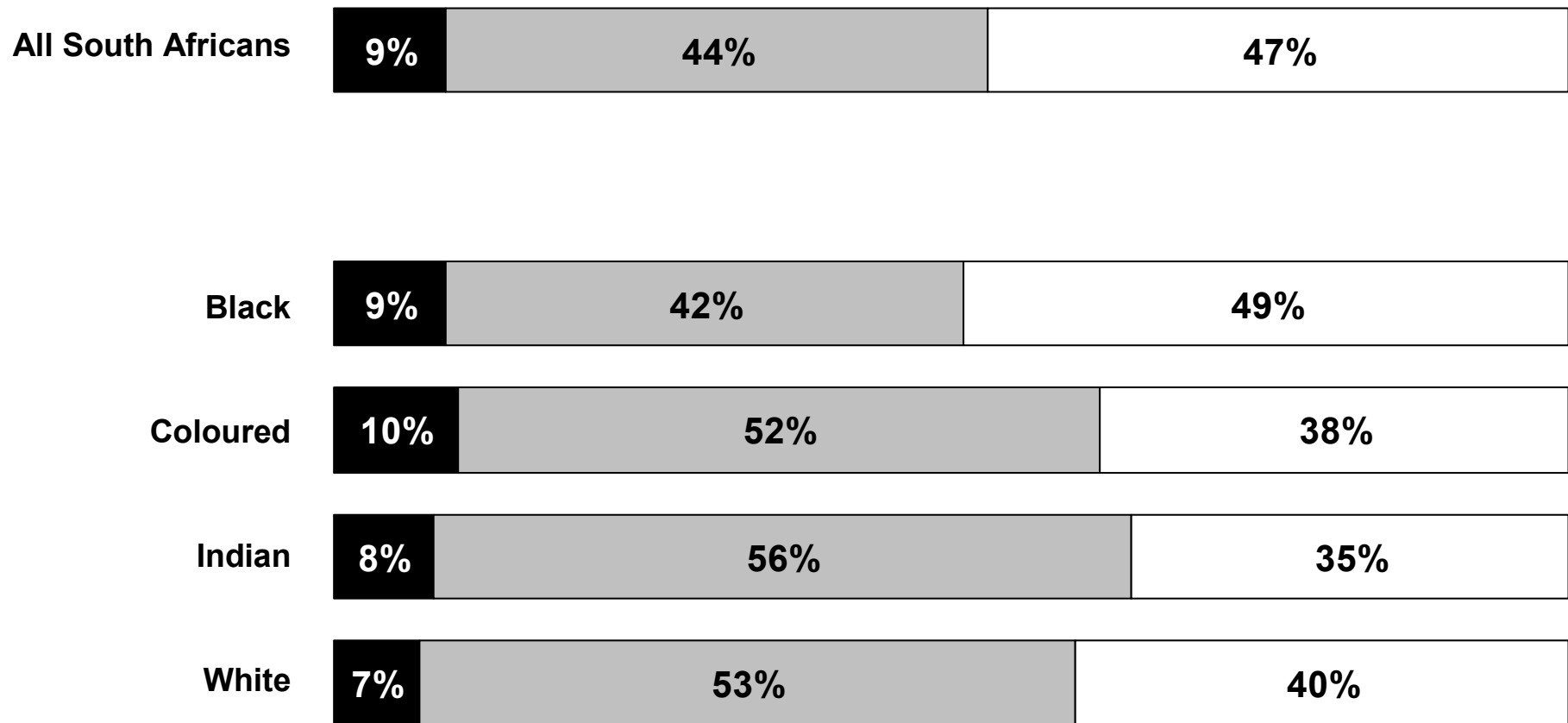
Attitudes Towards Politics

Which of the following statements best describe the way you feel?

Politics is a waste of time, and I don't care about it

I don't like politics, but it's important to keep in touch with what's happening

Politics affects everyone, and it's very important to be as involved as possible



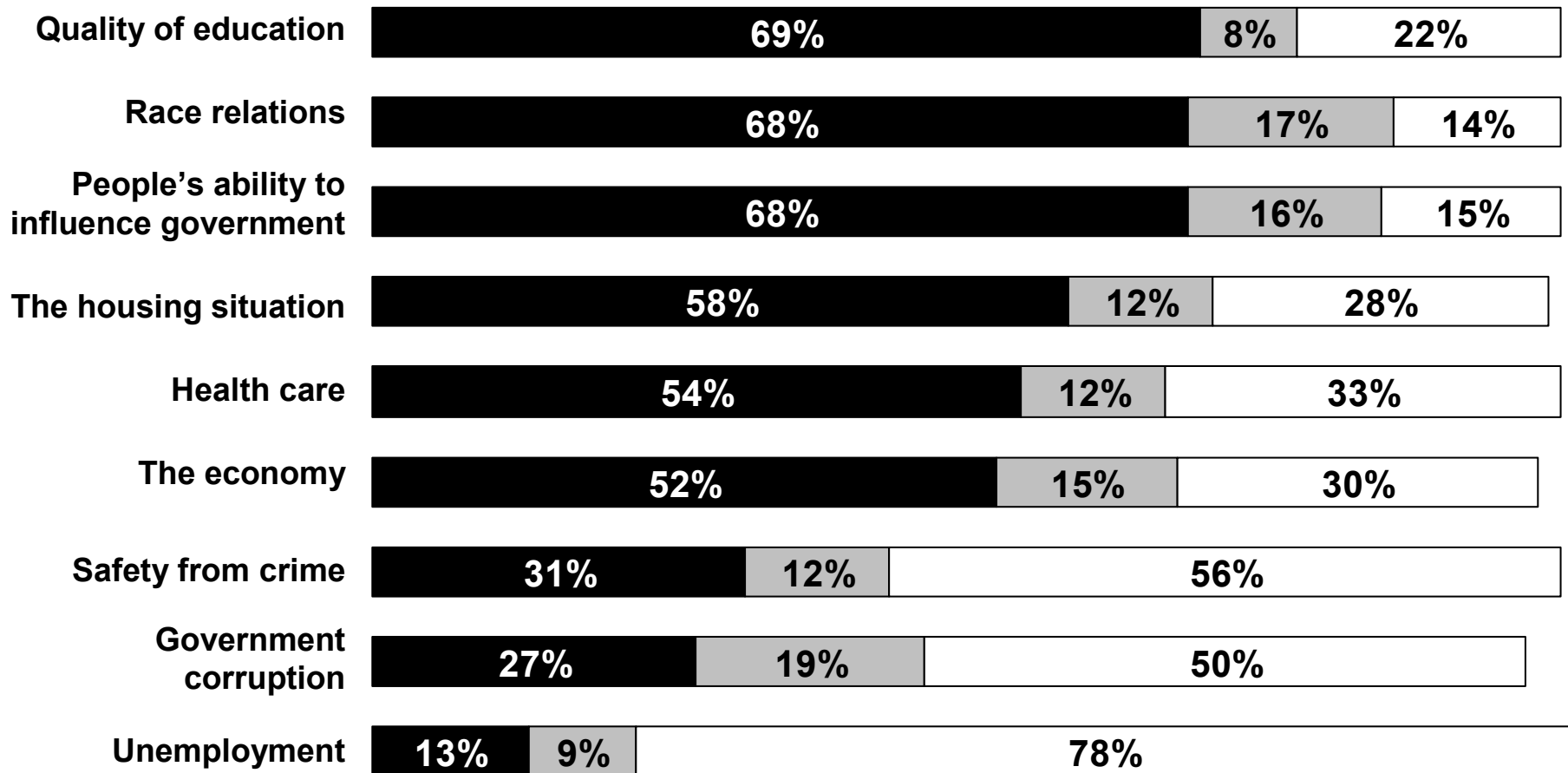
Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 17

Changes Since Apartheid

Comparing conditions under our present system of government with those under the former system of apartheid, are things NOW...

Better
 About the same
 Worse



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 18

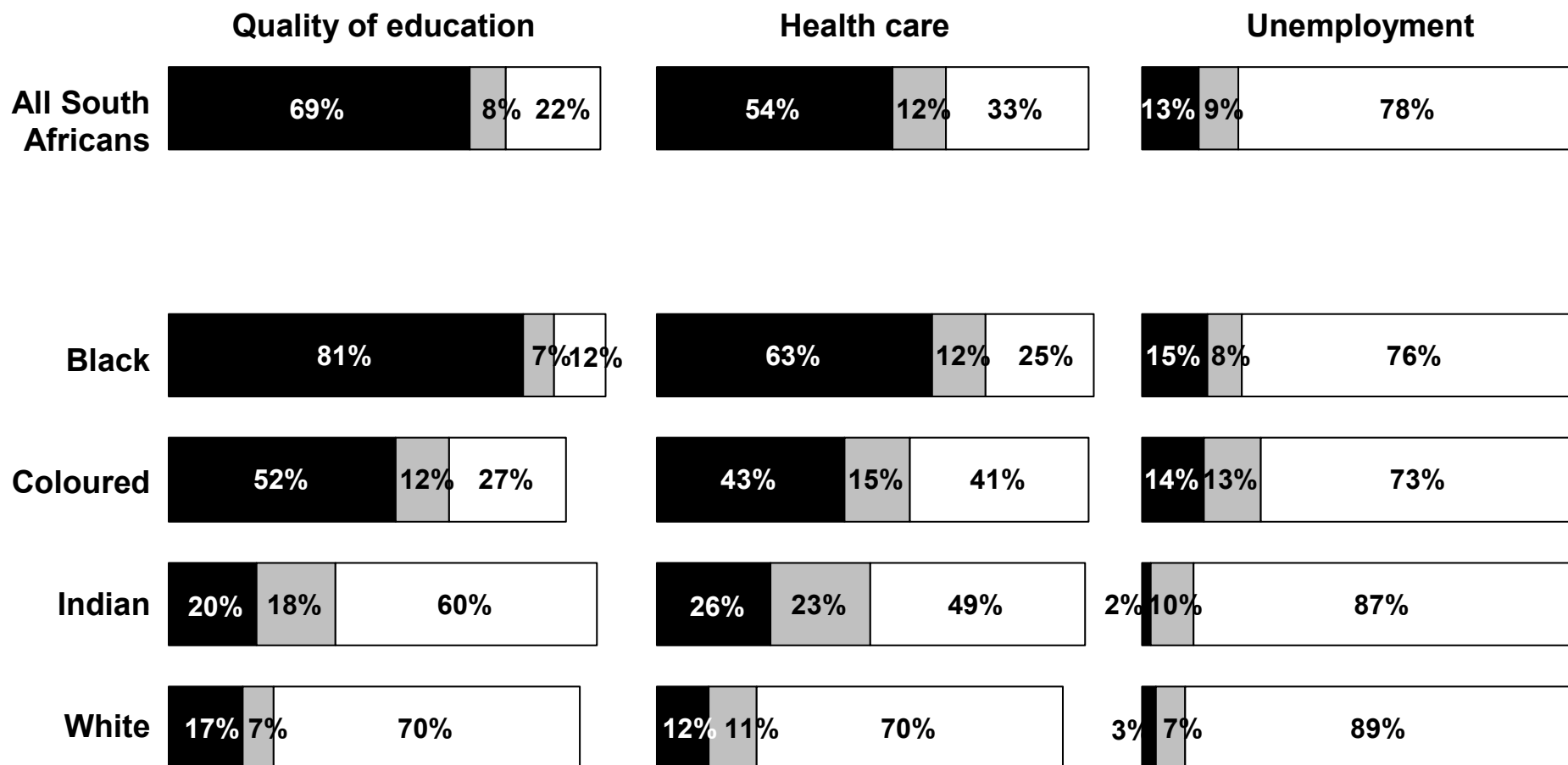
Changes Since Apartheid by Race

We are going to compare conditions under our present system of government with those under the former system of apartheid. Are things now...

■ Better

■ About the same

□ Worse



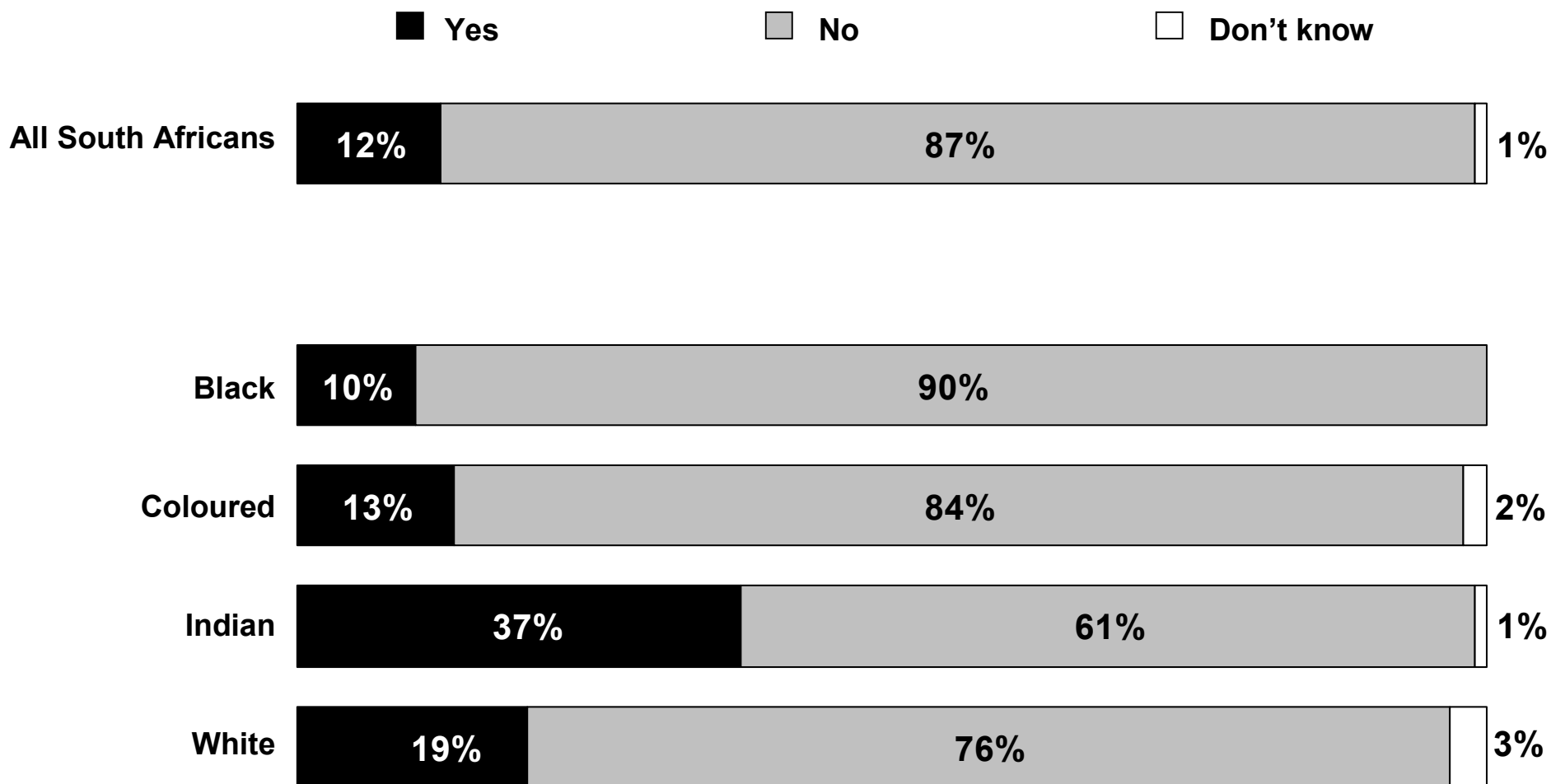
Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 19

Return To Apartheid?

Considering everything, would you go back to apartheid, or not?

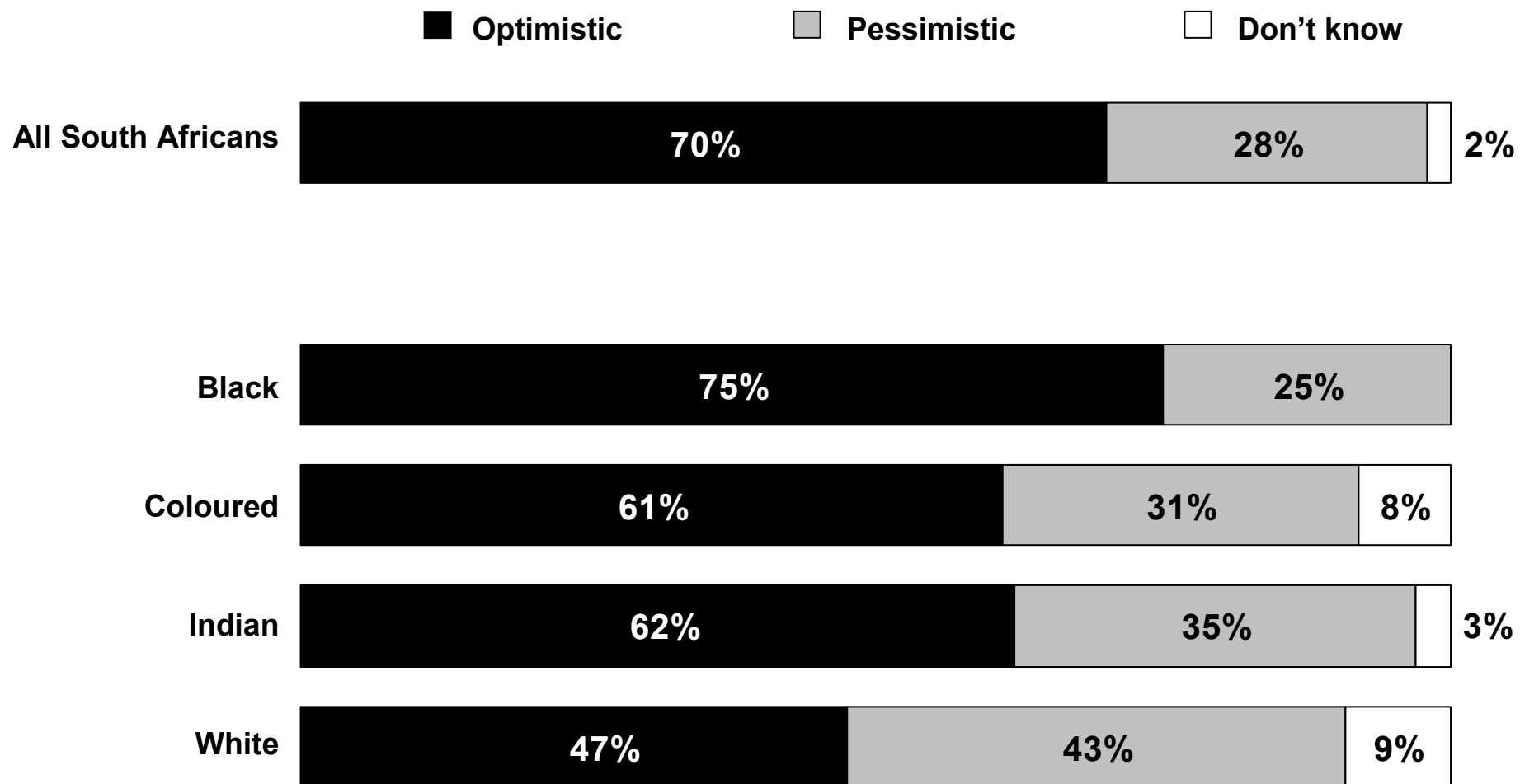


Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 20

Optimism for the Future

Considering everything, are you optimistic or pessimistic about South Africa's future?

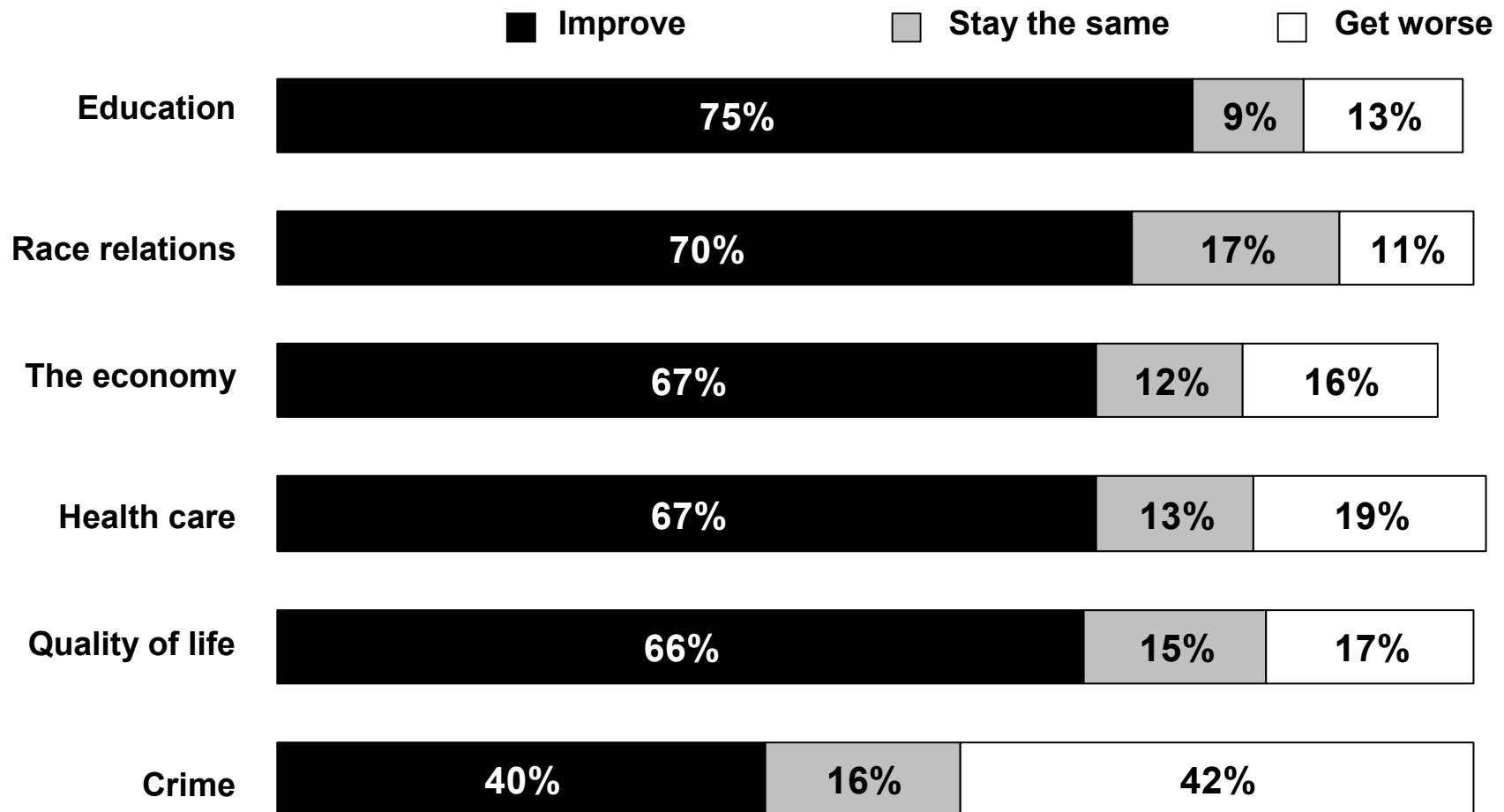


Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 21

Changes in the Next Five Years

In the next five years, do you think the following aspects of life in South Africa will improve, stay the same, or get worse?



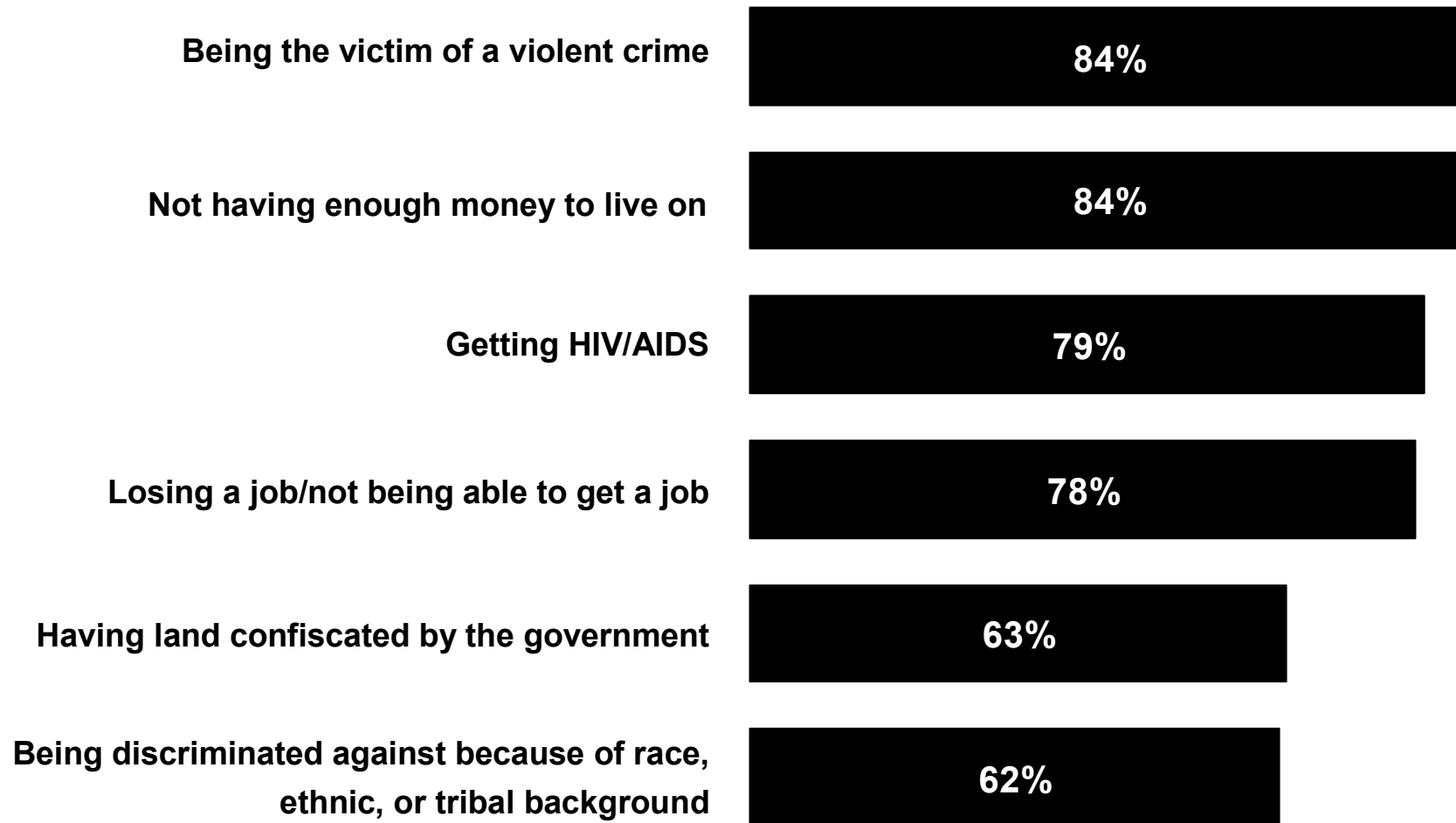
Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 22

South Africans' Worries

Percent saying they are very worried about...

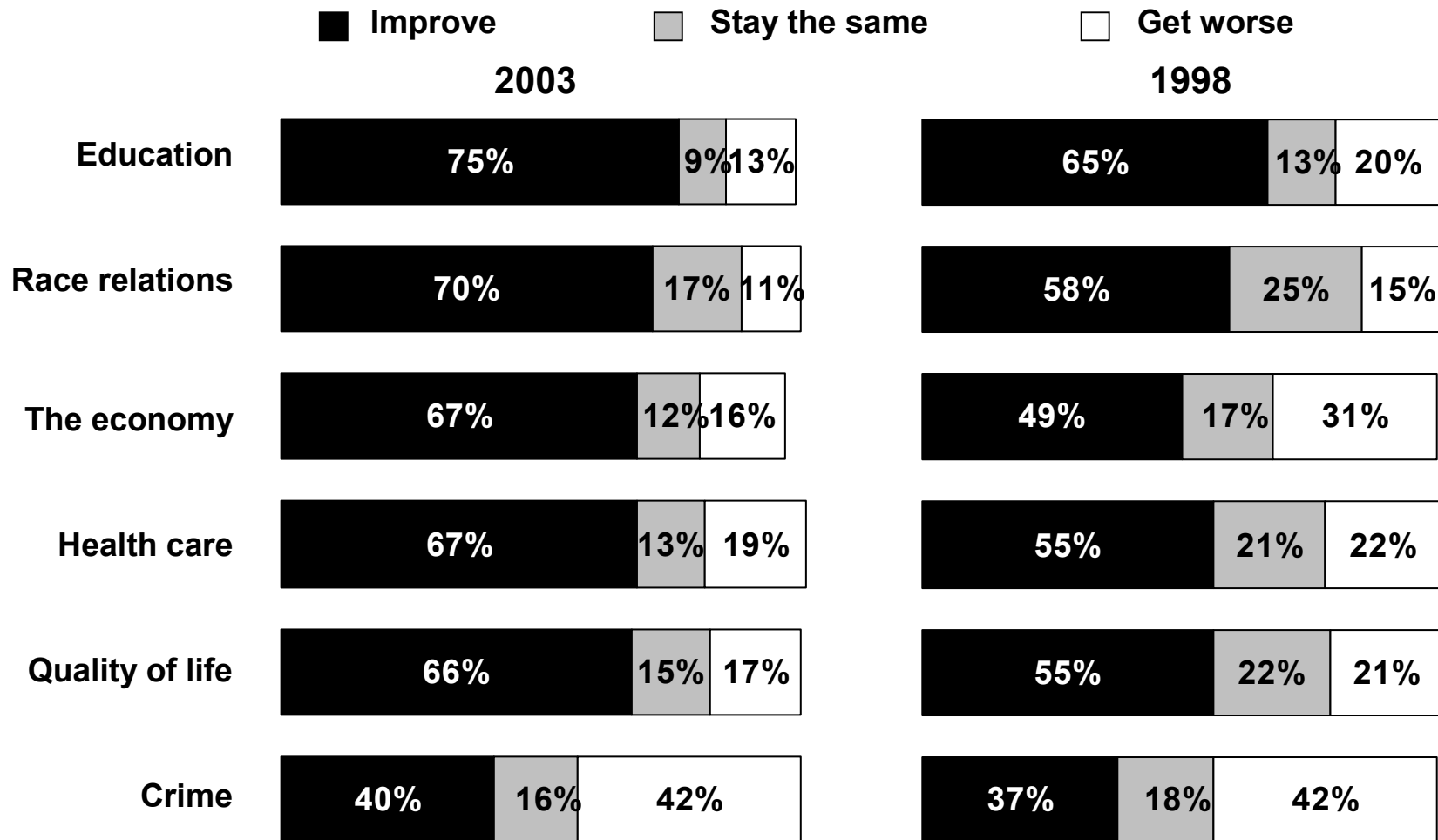


Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 23

Trends: Will Things Improve?

In the next five years, will the following aspects of life in South Africa...



Note: Don't know responses not shown

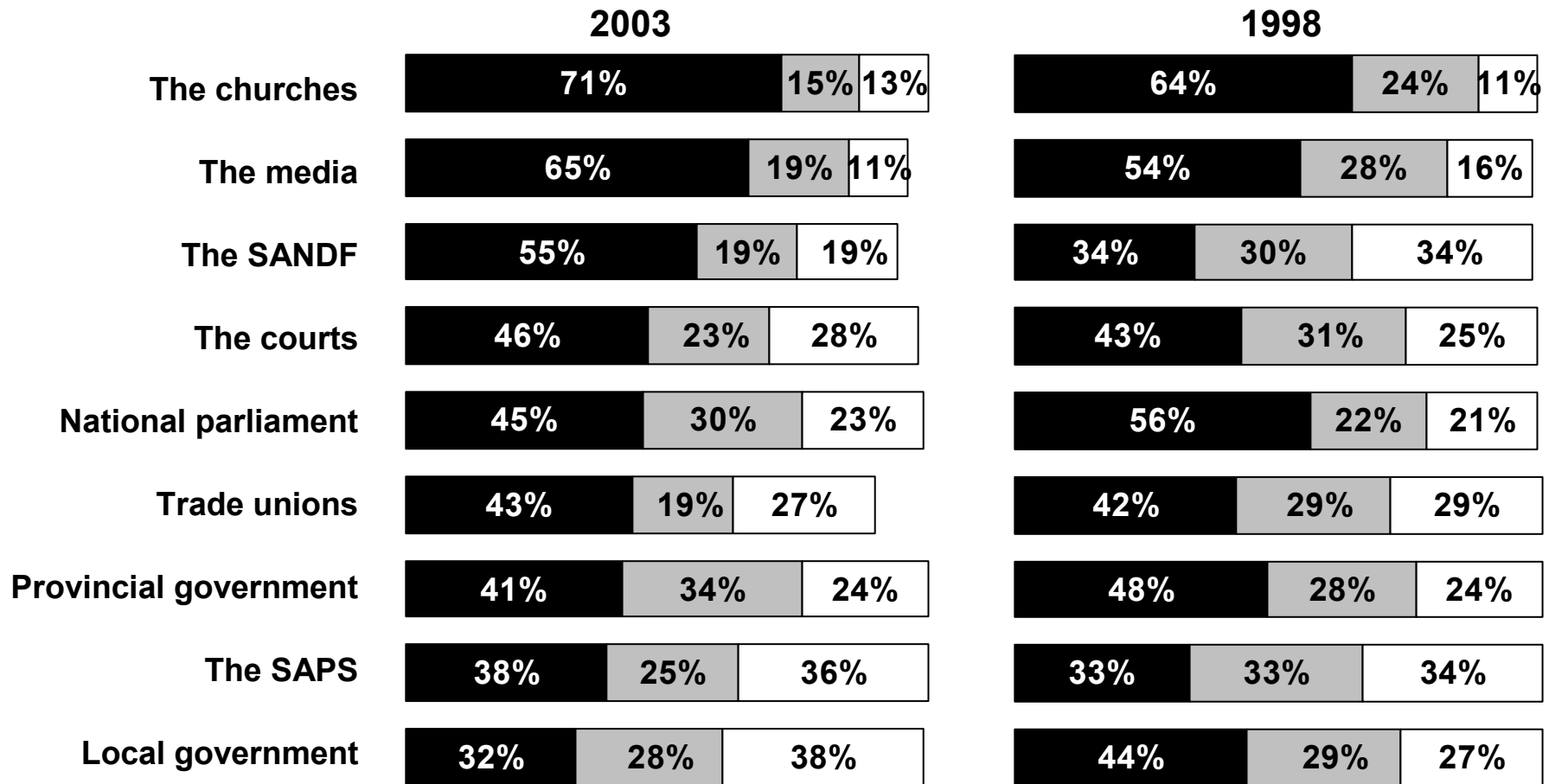
Sources: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003); Kaiser Family Foundation/Independent Newspaper Group *Reality Check: South Africans' Views of the New South Africa* (conducted Nov.-Dec., 1998)

Chart 24

Trends: Confidence in Institutions

How much confidence do you have in the following institutions...

■ Great deal/quite a lot ■ Some □ Not much/none at all



Note: Don't know responses not shown

Sources: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003); Kaiser Family Foundation/Independent Newspaper Group *Reality Check: South Africans' Views of the New South Africa* (conducted Nov.-Dec., 1998)

Chart 25

Trends: Race Relations

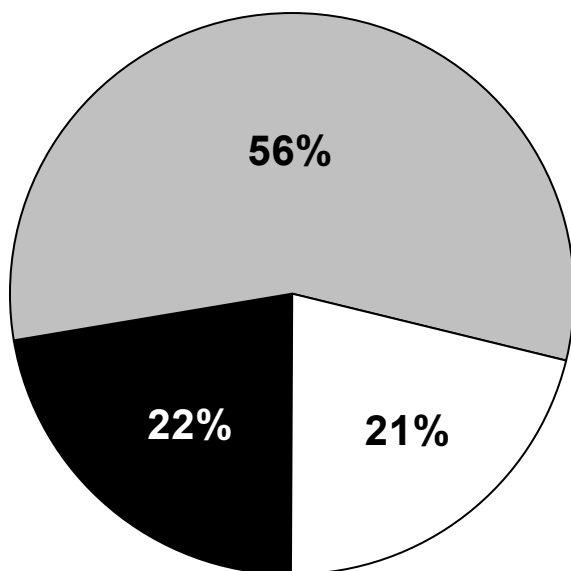
Percent saying each of the following best describes how they feel...

■ We are becoming a united nation

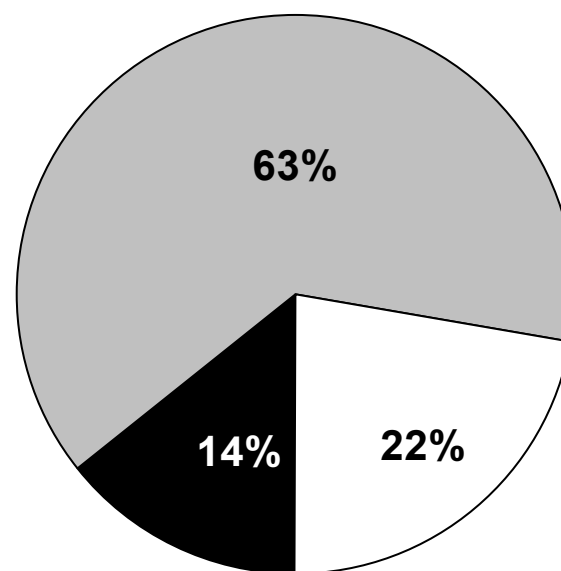
■ It will take a long time, but we will eventually become a united nation

□ South Africans will always be divided

2003



1998



Sources: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003); Kaiser Family Foundation/Independent Newspaper Group *Reality Check: South Africans' Views of the New South Africa* (conducted Nov.-Dec., 1998)

Chart 26

Trends: Race Relations

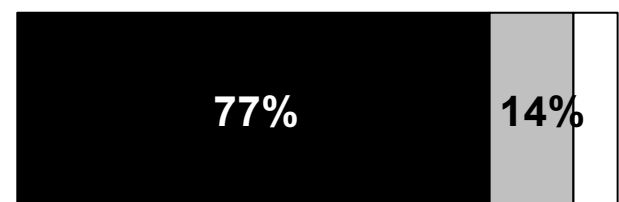
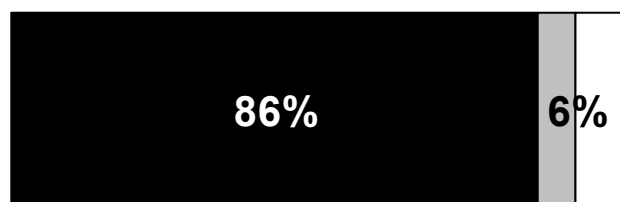
Percent who agree/disagree with the following statements:

■ Agree ■ Neither Agree/Disagree □ Disagree

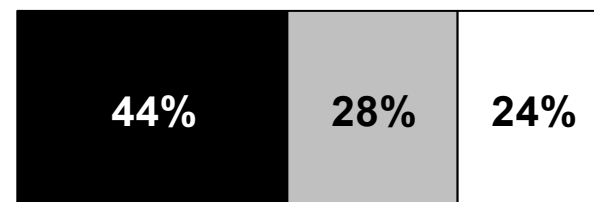
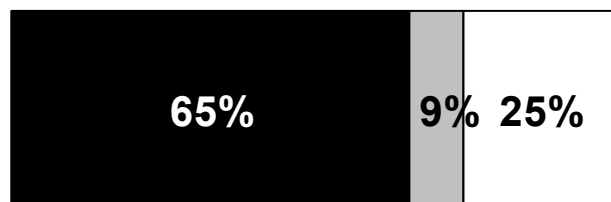
2003

1998

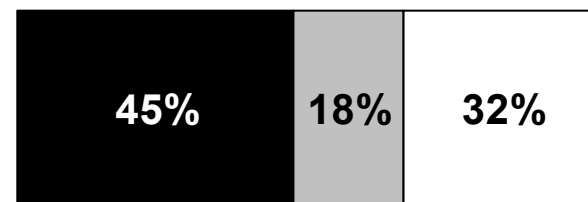
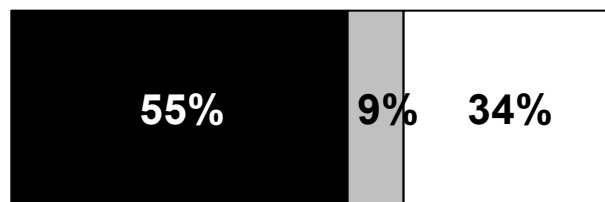
In the new South Africa, Blacks can make it to the top



Blacks and Whites will never trust each other



It would not bother me if my children married someone of a different race



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 27

The Impact of HIV/AIDS and Illness

Percent who say they or someone in their household suffers from...

Tuberculosis 10%

Unexplained weight loss 8%

Chronic diarrhea 2%

HIV/AIDS 1%

Any of the above 19%

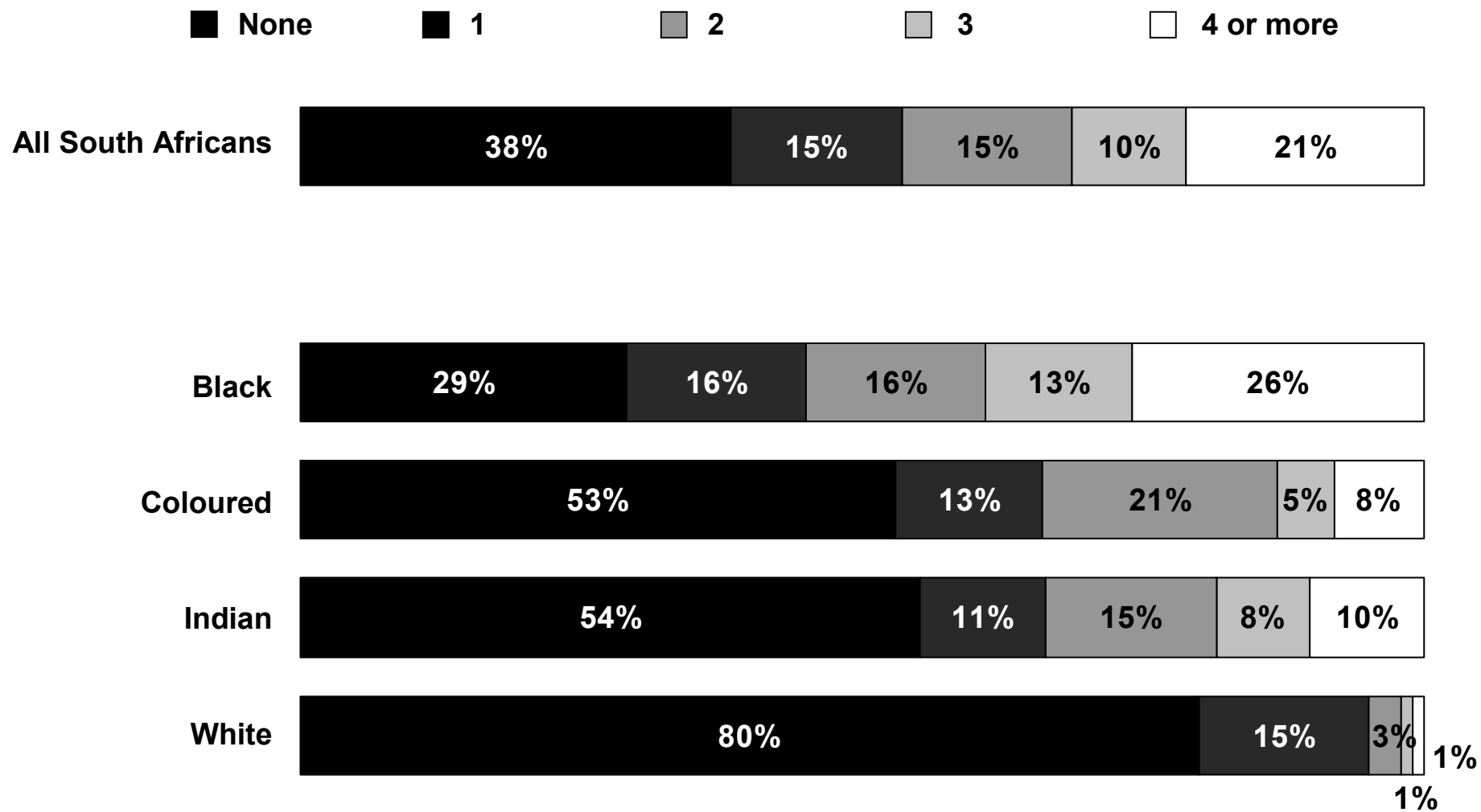
Percent who are taking care of a child whose parents have died from one of the above chronic diseases 6%

Percent who know a close friend or relative who has died of AIDS 28%

Chart 28

Funeral Attendance in South Africa

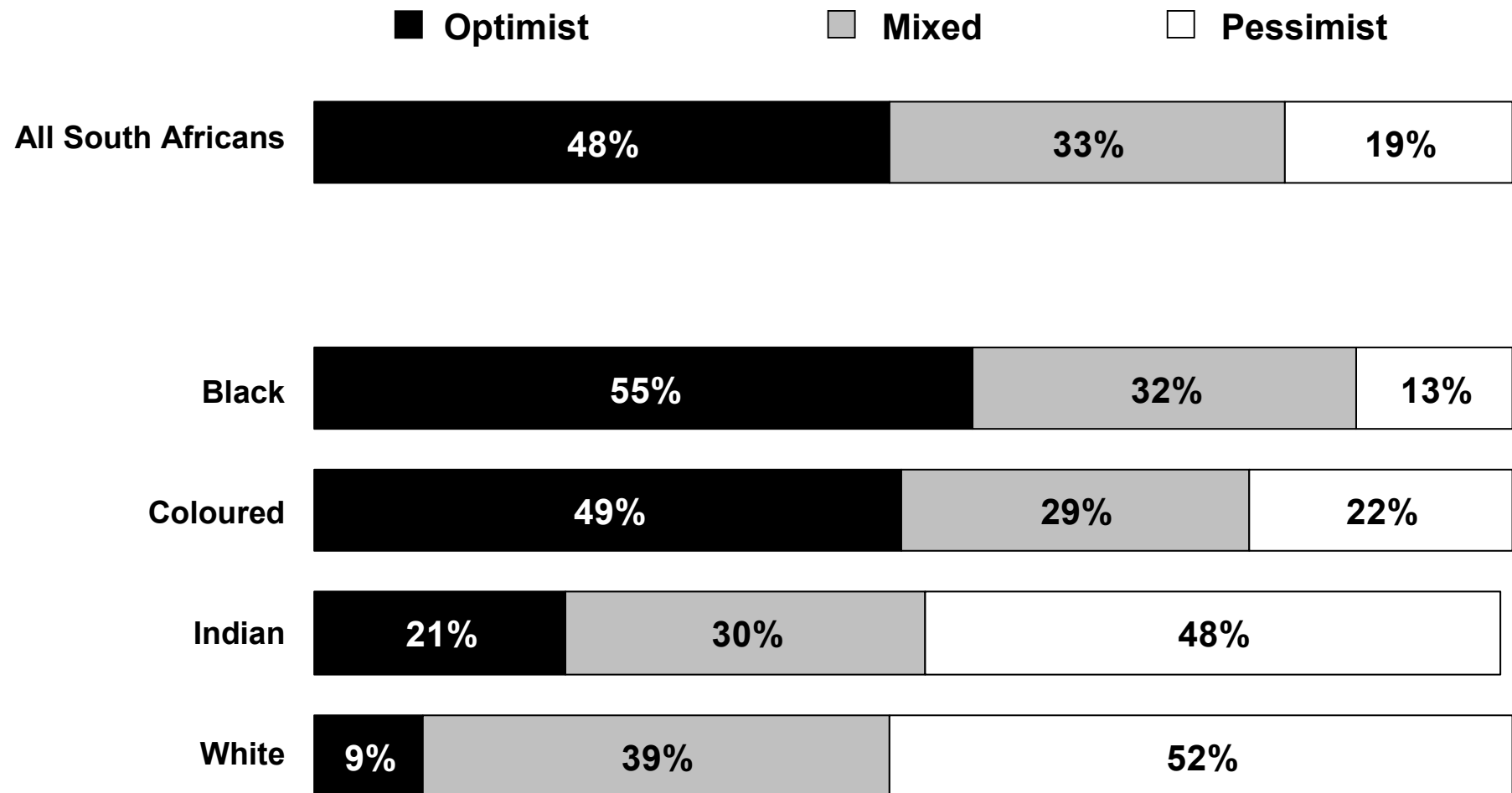
Number of funerals people reported attending in the last month



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 29

Optimists and Pessimists by Race



Note: Optimism/pessimism scale based on responses to 7 questions about whether certain aspects of life in South Africa will improve, stay the same, or get worse in the next five years.

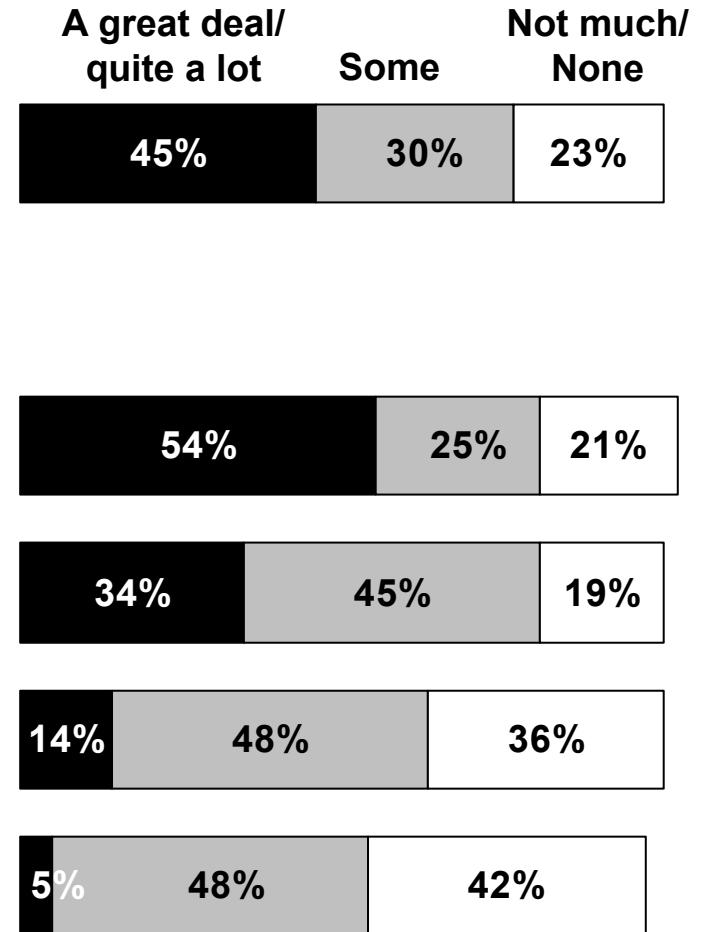
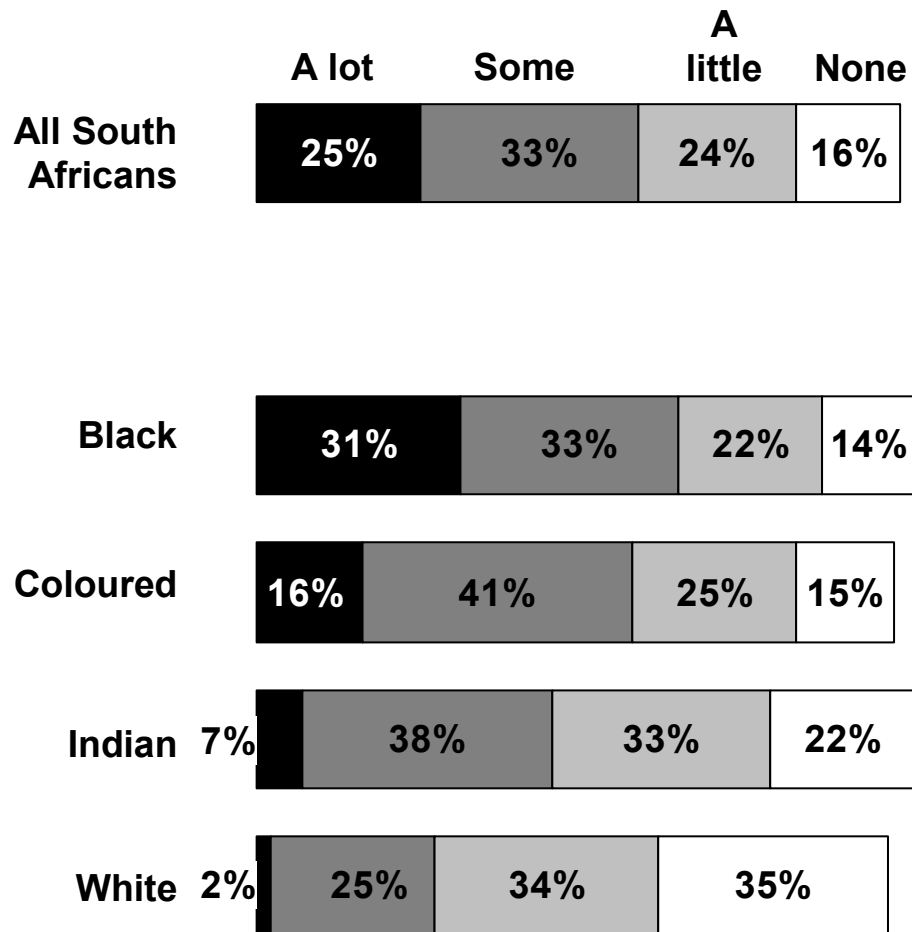
Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 30

Confidence in National Government by Race

When the national government decides to solve a problem, how much confidence do you have that the problem will actually be solved?

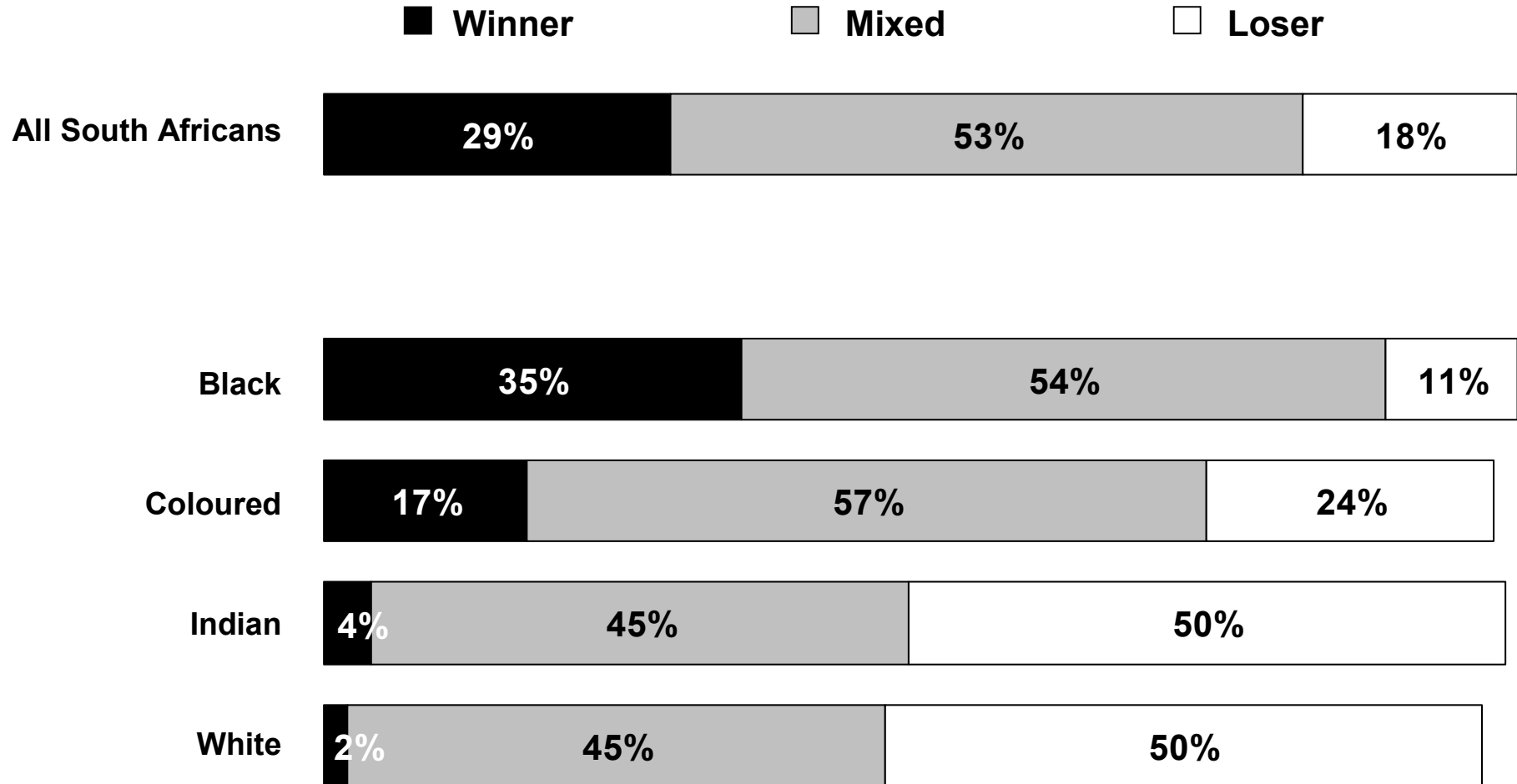
How much confidence do you have in the following...
National Parliament?



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 31

Self-Perceived “Winners” and “Losers” Since Apartheid by Race



Note: Winners/losers scale based on responses to 8 questions about whether certain aspects of life in South Africa have improved, stayed the same, or gotten worse since the end of apartheid.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 32

Percent of Whites by Category

Percent of Whites who fall into the following categories based on their responses to whether specific aspects of life in South Africa have gotten better or gotten worse since the end of apartheid...

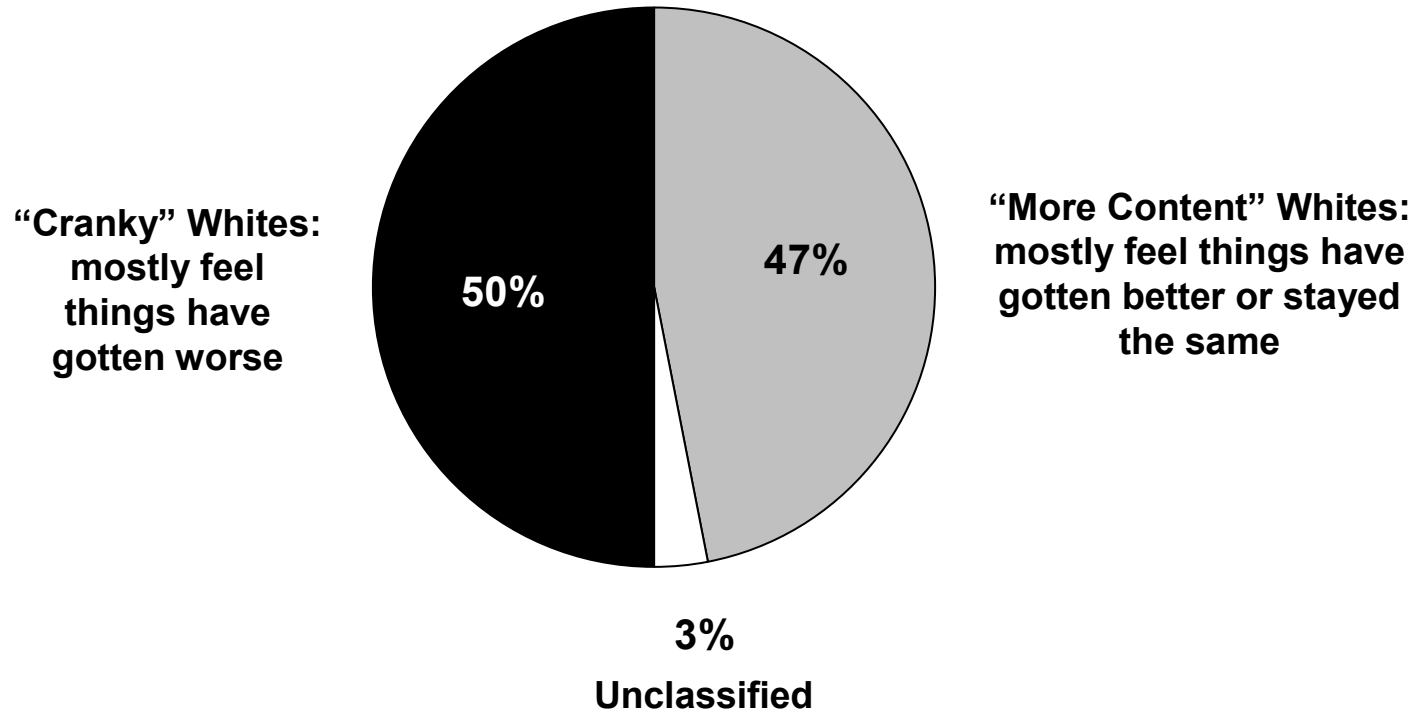
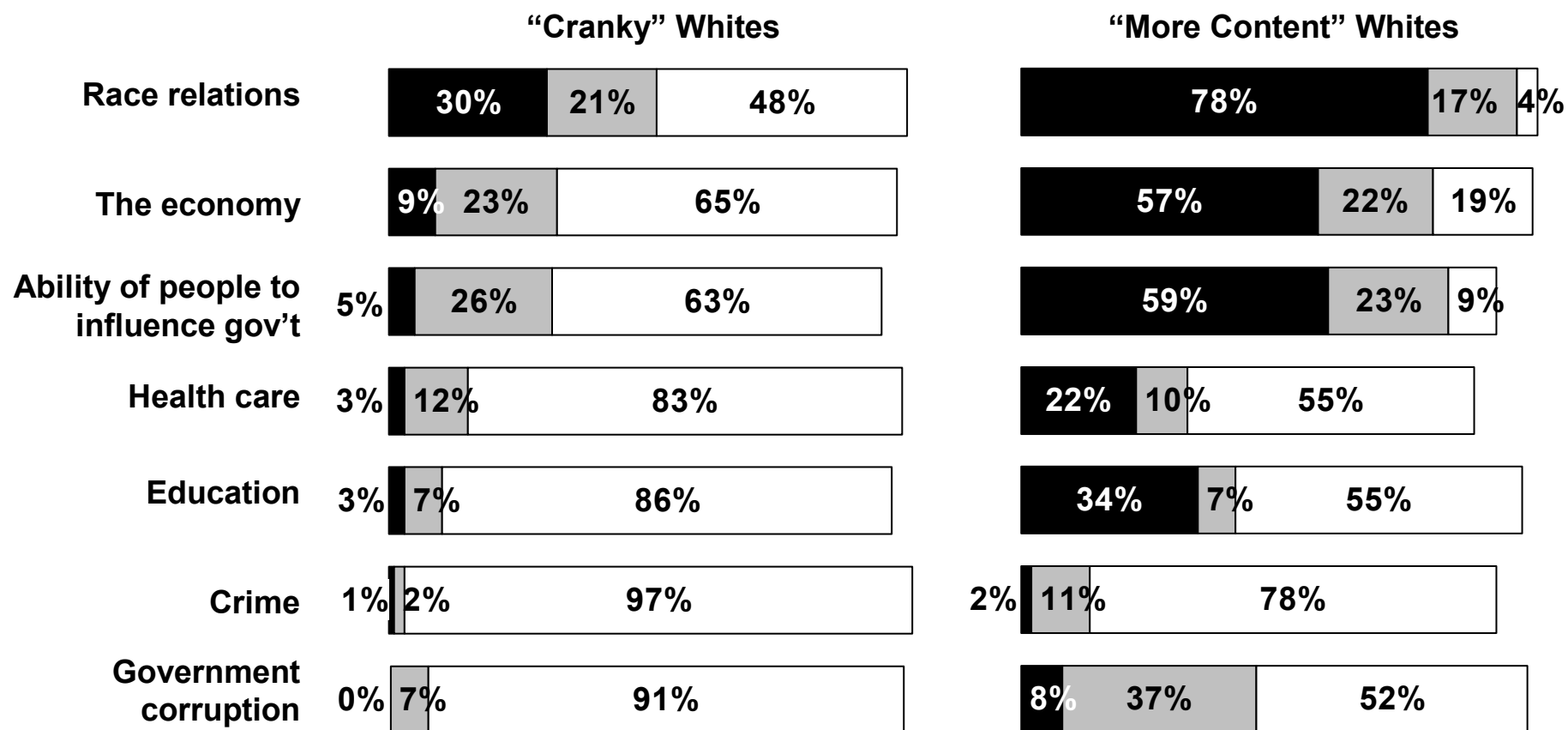


Chart 33

“Cranky” vs. “More Content” Whites: Changes Since Apartheid

Comparing conditions under our present system of government with those under the former system of apartheid, are things NOW...

■ Better ■ About the same □ Worse



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 34

Who Are the “Cranky” and “More Content” Whites?

Percent of Whites who fall into “cranky” and “more content” categories by demographic group

	Total	Men	Women	Speak English	Speak Afrikaans	College grad	Not college grad	Health status limited	Health status not limited	Not victim of racism	Victim of racism
“Cranky” Whites	50%	41%	60%	40%	59%	17%	60%	43%	65%	43%	64%
“More Content” Whites	47%	58%	36%	60%	36%	83%	36%	56%	28%	56%	30%

Note: Categories based on responses to whether specific aspects of life in South Africa have gotten better or gotten worse since the end of apartheid

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 35

“Cranky” vs. “More Content” Whites: Direction of Country

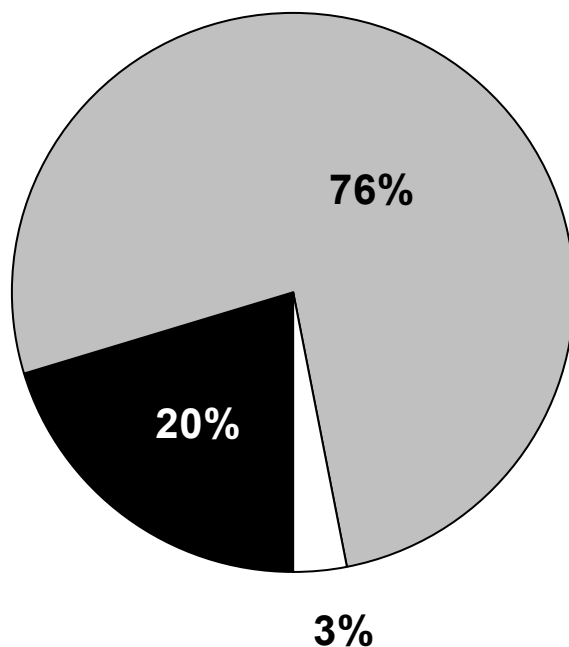
Would you say that the country is going in the right direction or the wrong direction?

■ Right direction

■ Wrong direction

□ Don't know

“Cranky” Whites



“More Content” Whites

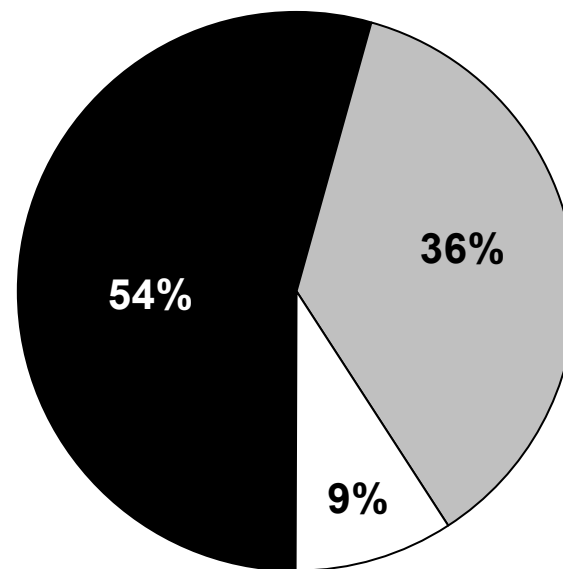


Chart 36

“Cranky” vs. “More Content” Whites: Would Go Back to Apartheid

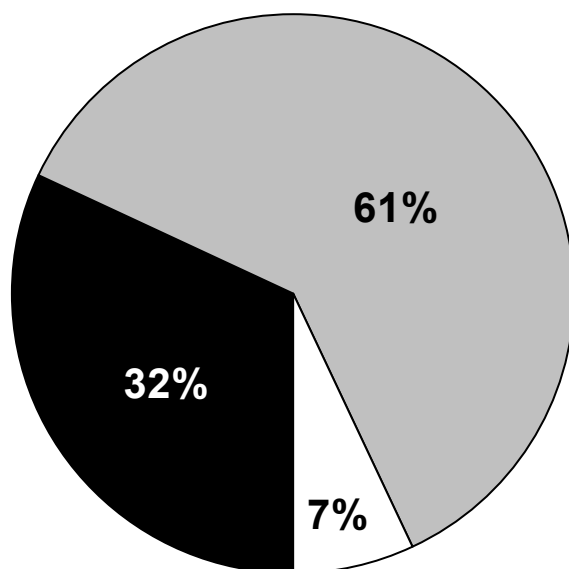
Considering everything, would you go back to apartheid, or not?

■ Yes

■ No

□ Don't know

“Cranky” Whites



“More Content” Whites

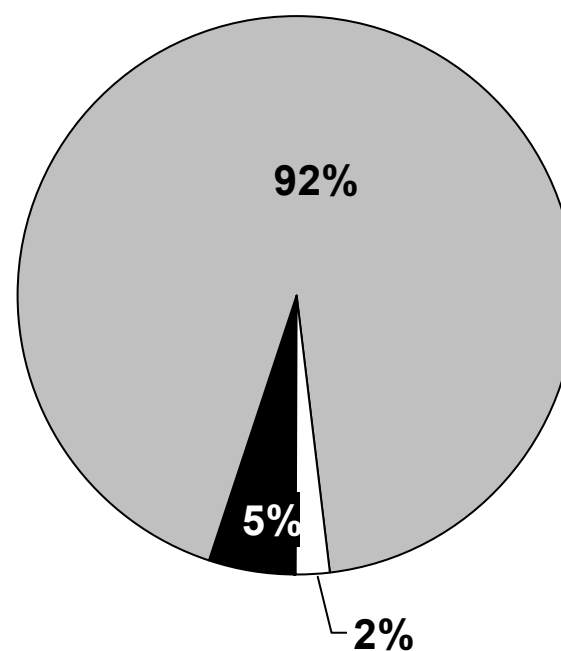
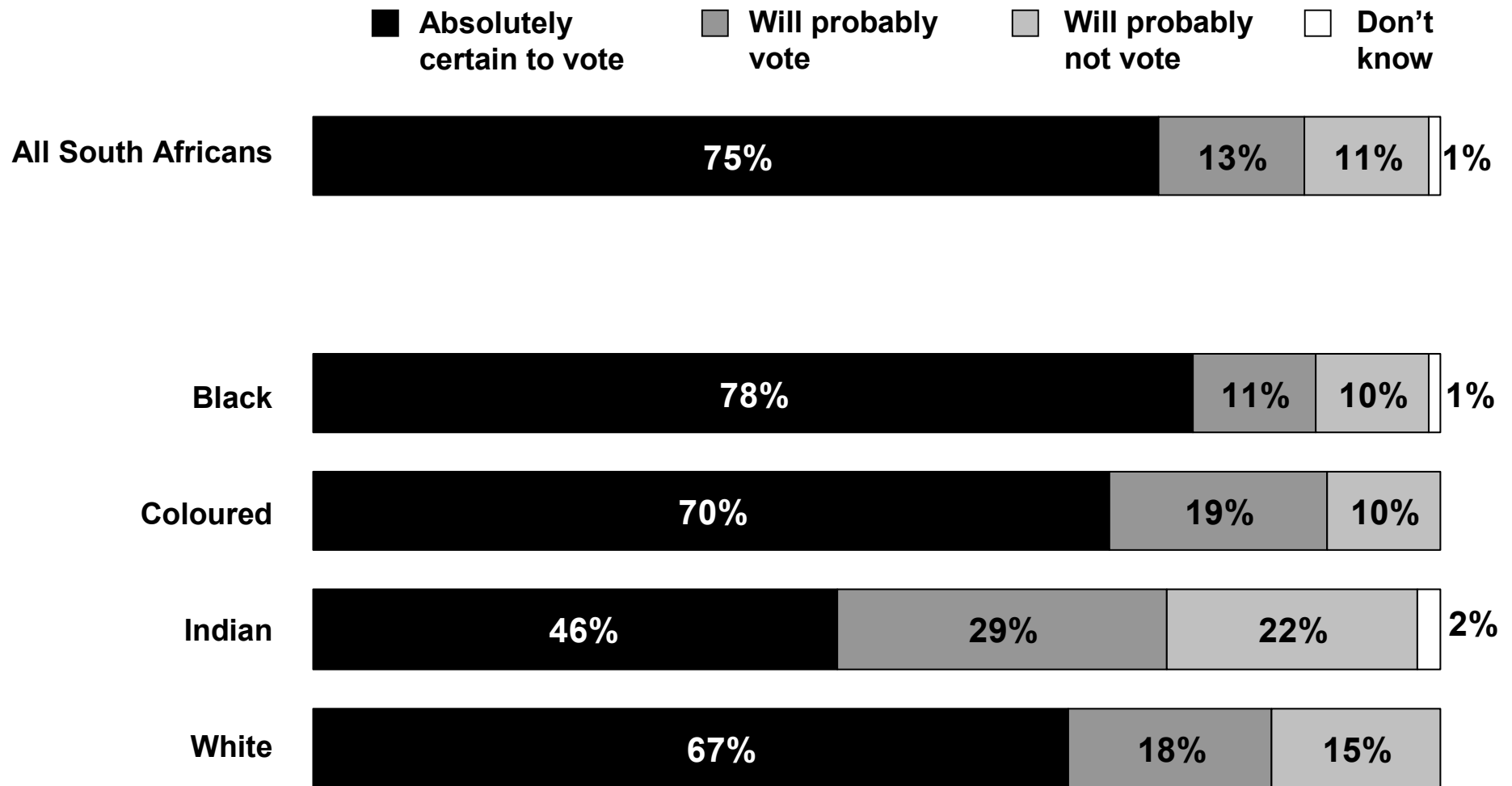


Chart 37

Chances of Voting in Next Election

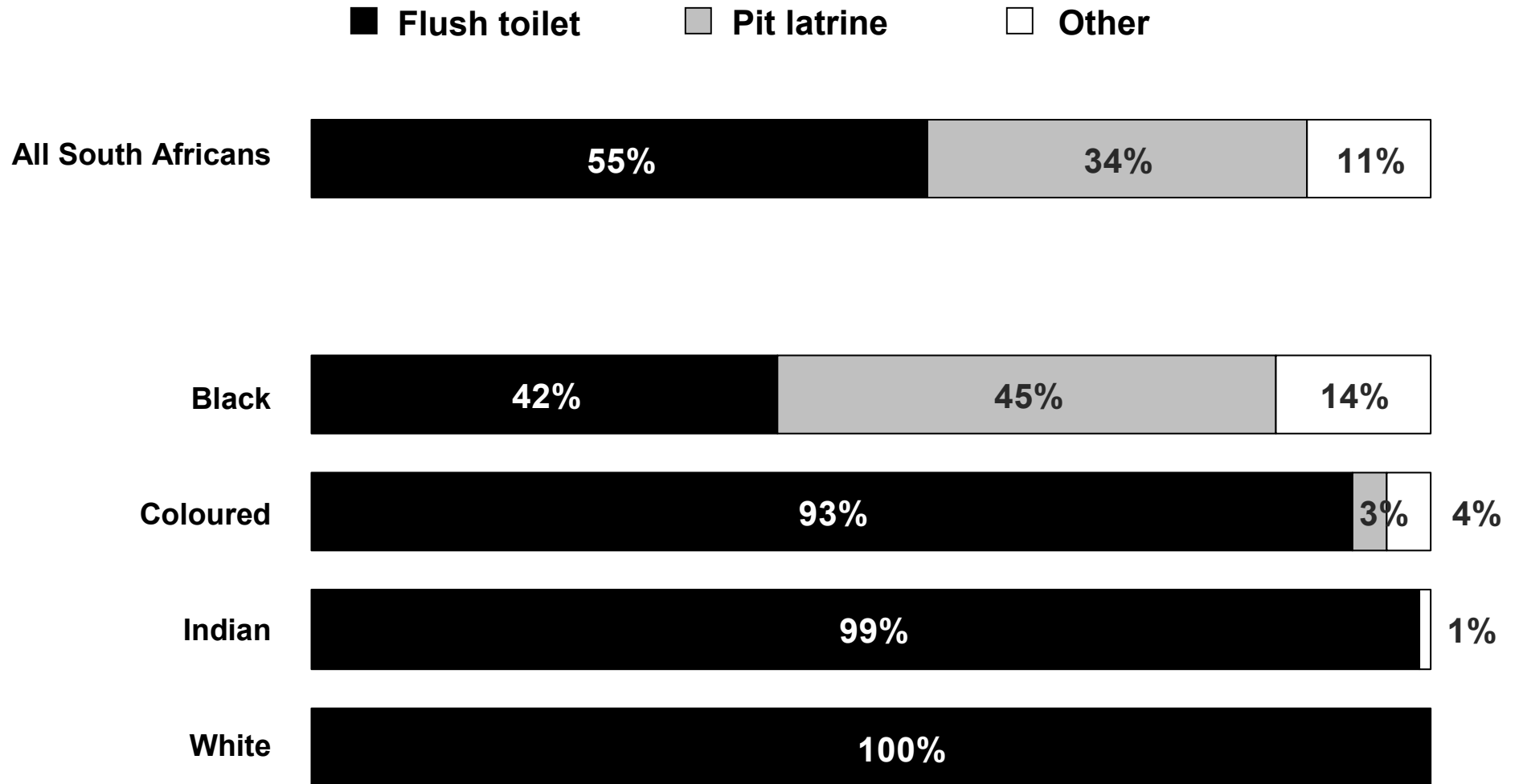
Percent who say they will be voting in the next general election...



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 38

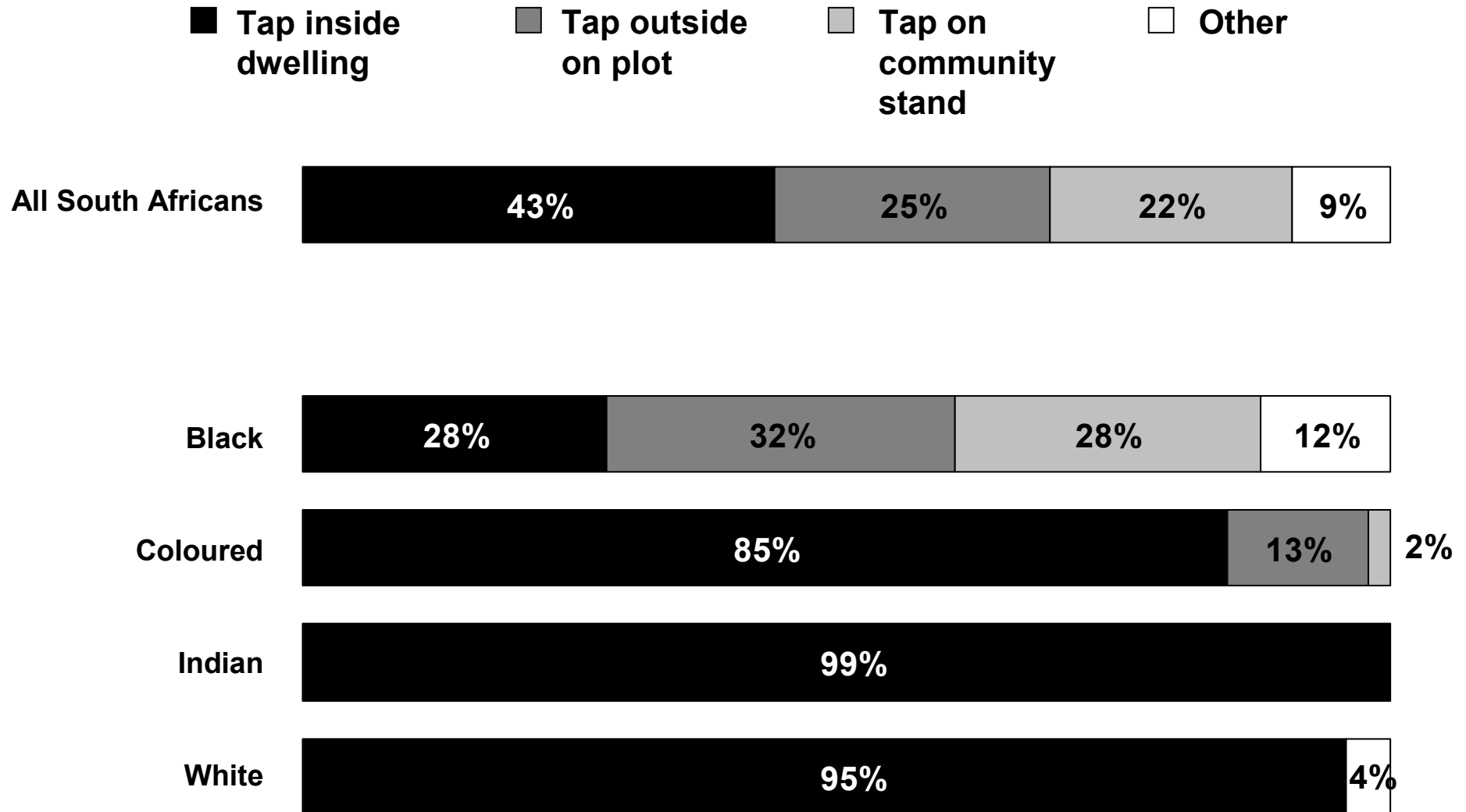
Main type of toilet facility used by household



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 39

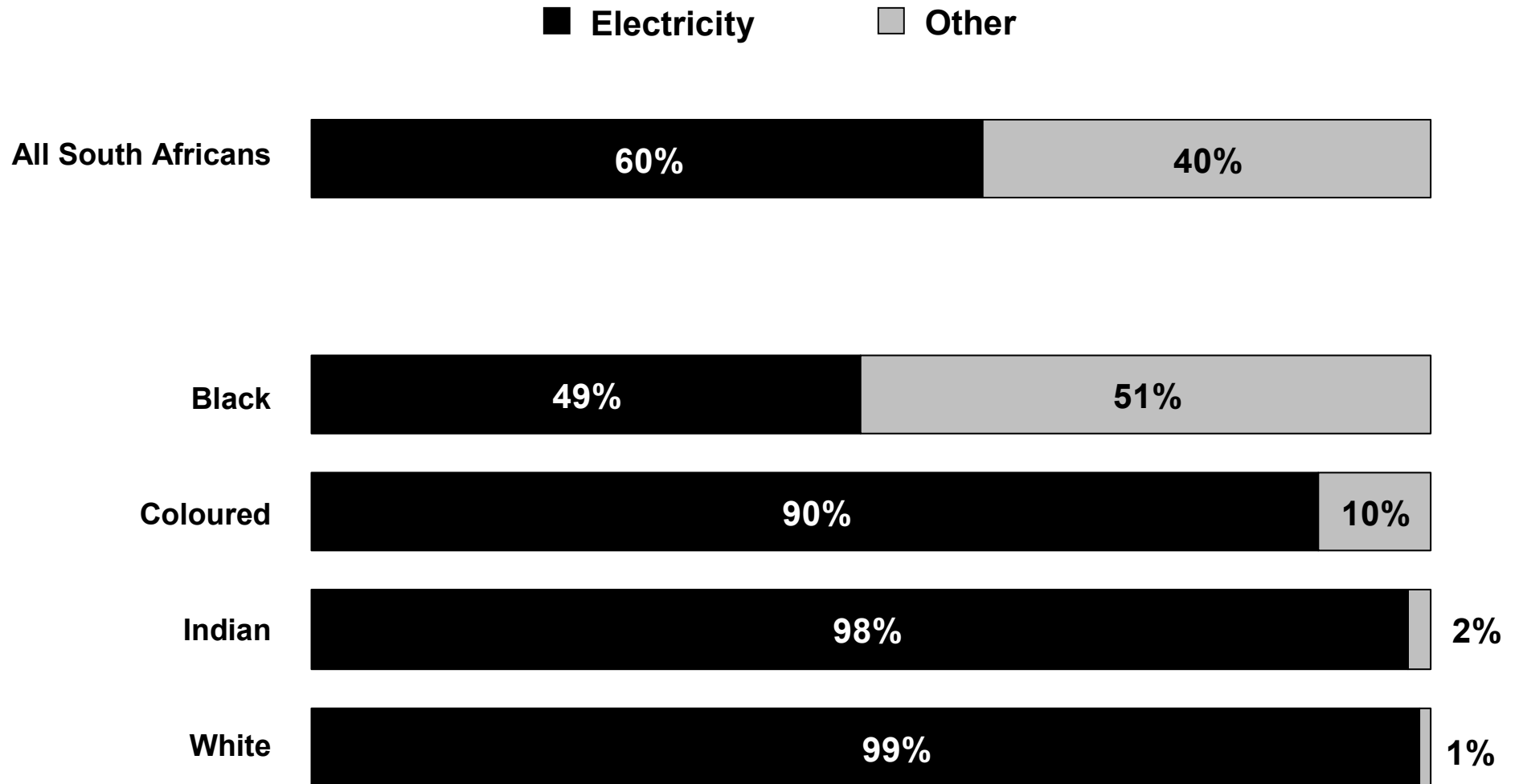
Main source of water for household



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 40

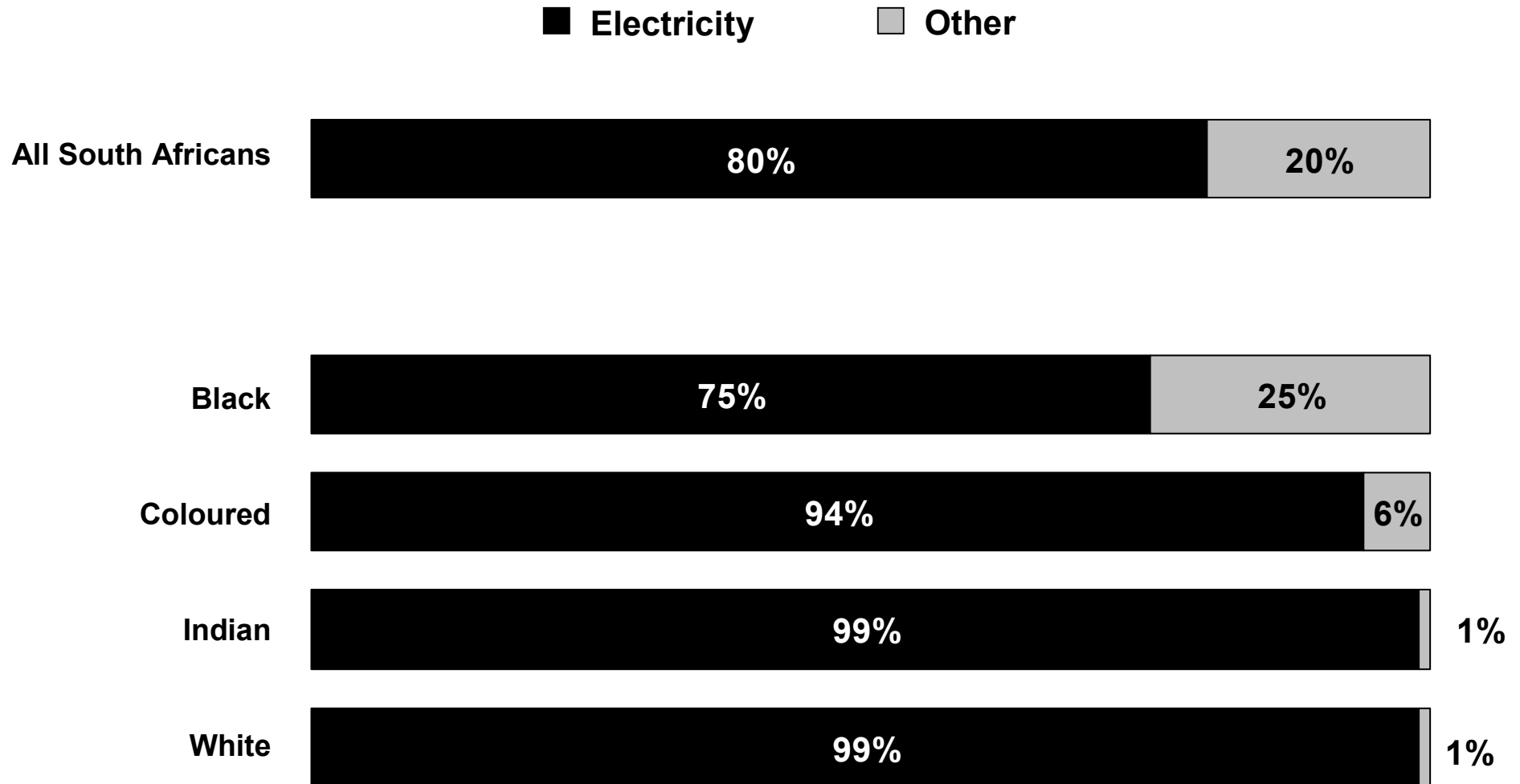
Main type of energy/fuel used for cooking



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 41

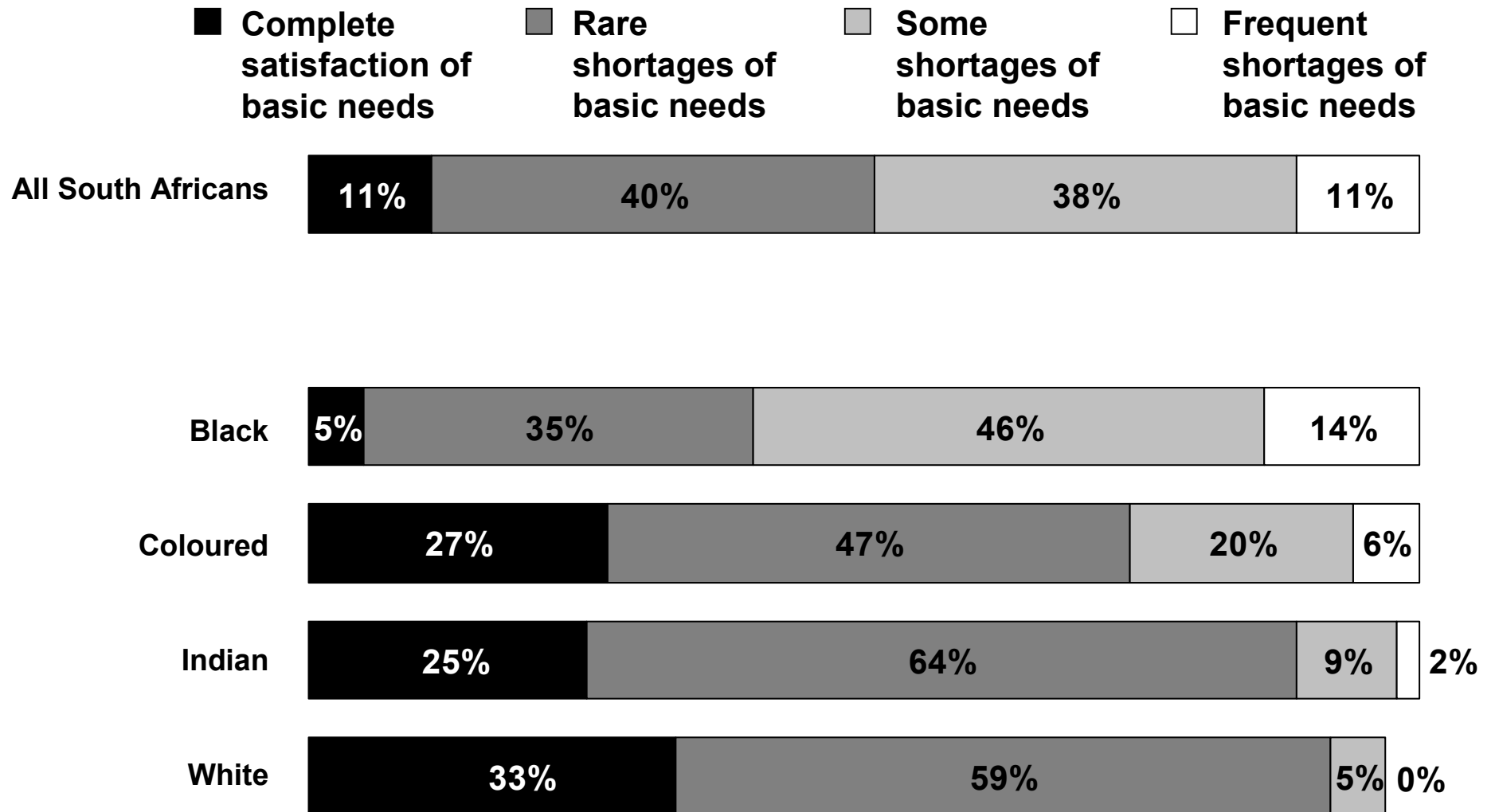
Main type of energy/fuel used for lighting



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 42

“Lived Poverty*” by Race

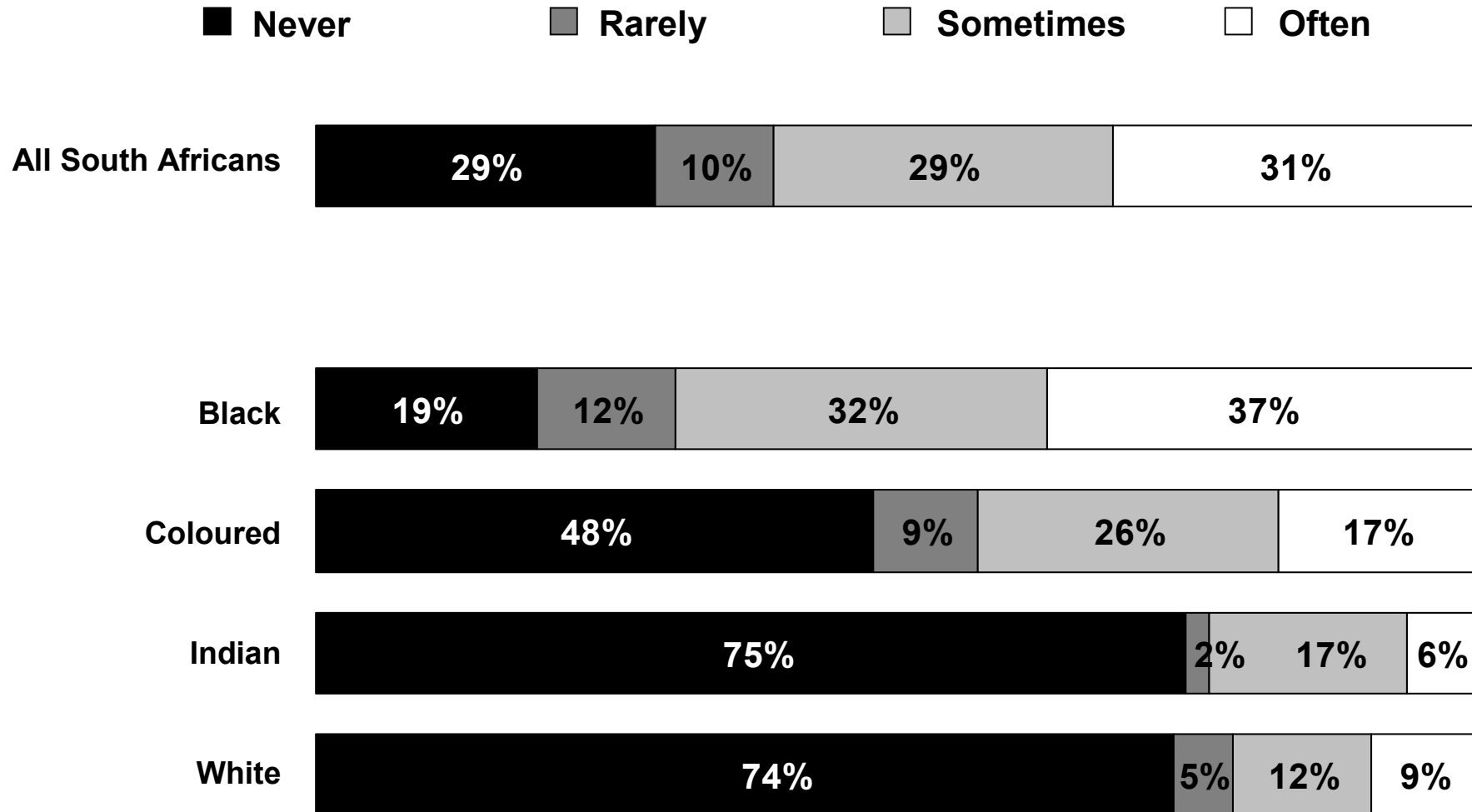


* Lived poverty defined based on questions about how often in the last month respondent has gone without enough food, clean water, medical treatment, cash income, heat, shelter, electricity, or felt unsafe from crime in their home.

Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 43

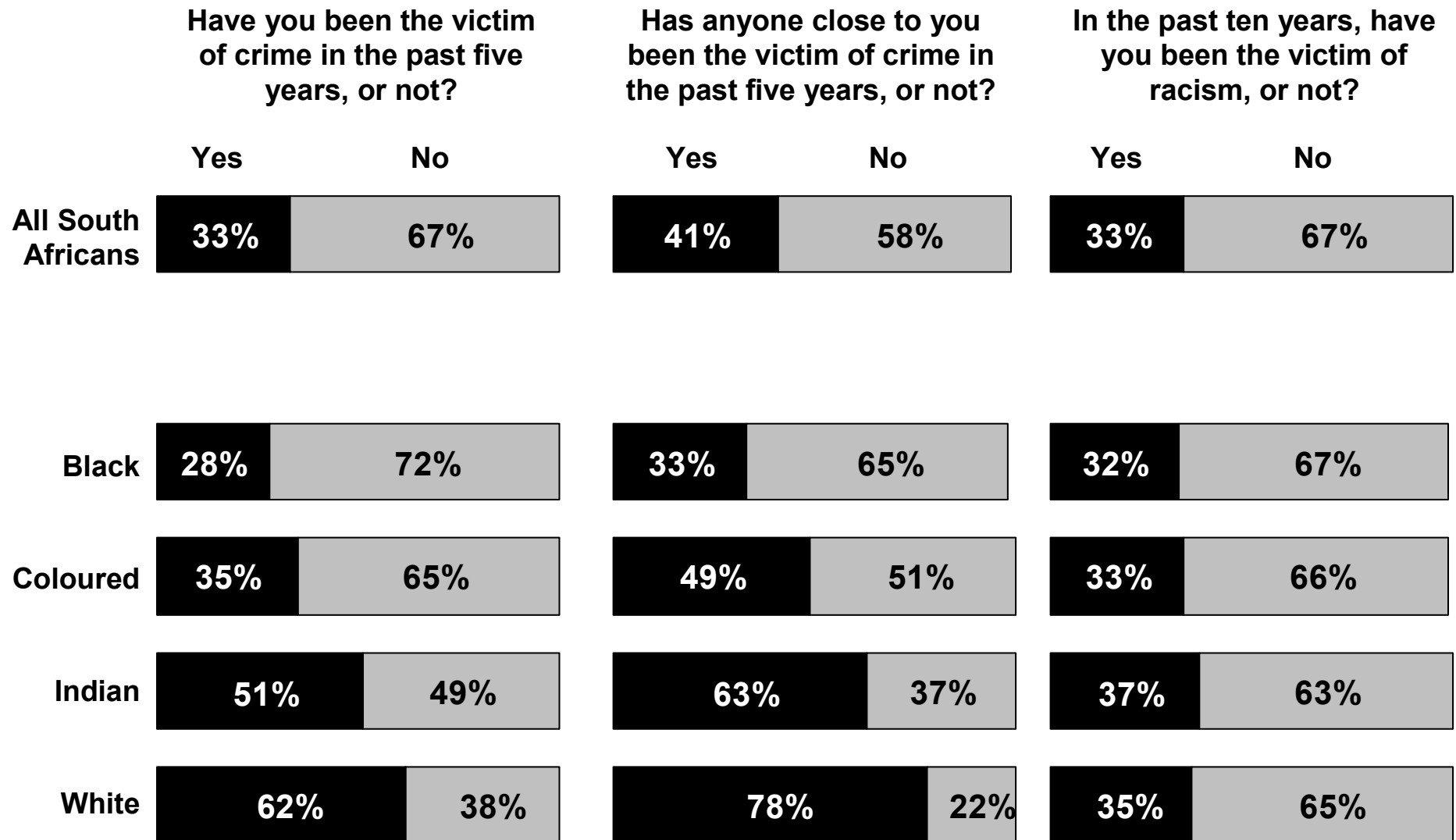
Percent who have gone without a cash income in last twelve months



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 44

South Africans' Experiences with Crime and Racism



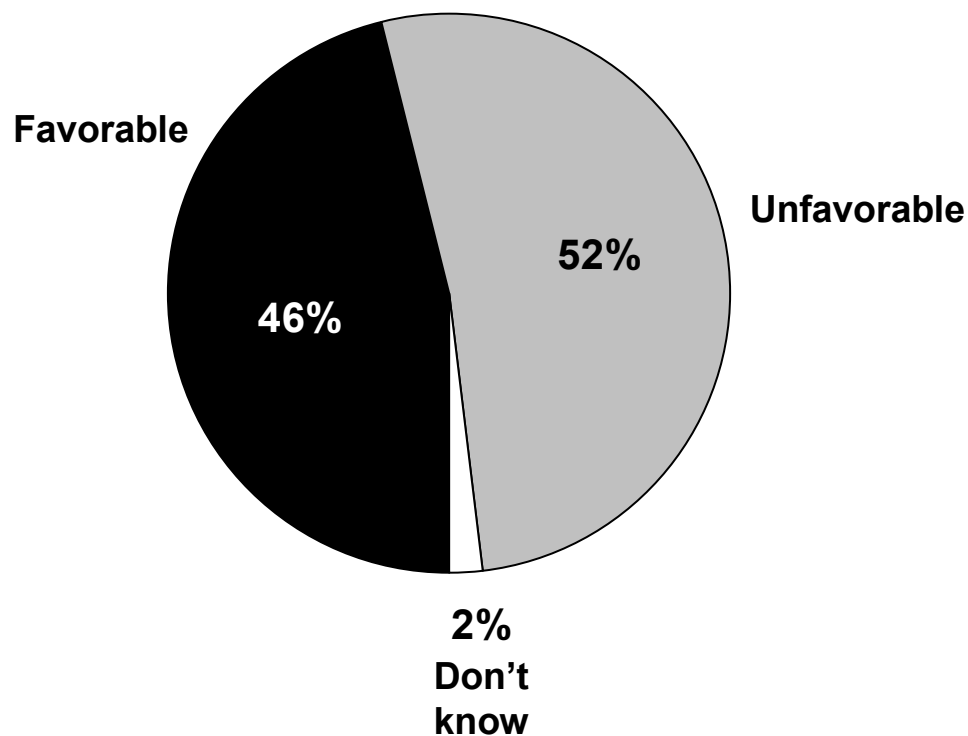
Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 45

Opinions of People from Other Countries

What is your opinion of...

People living in South Africa who are from other countries in Africa



People from other countries who are in South Africa illegally

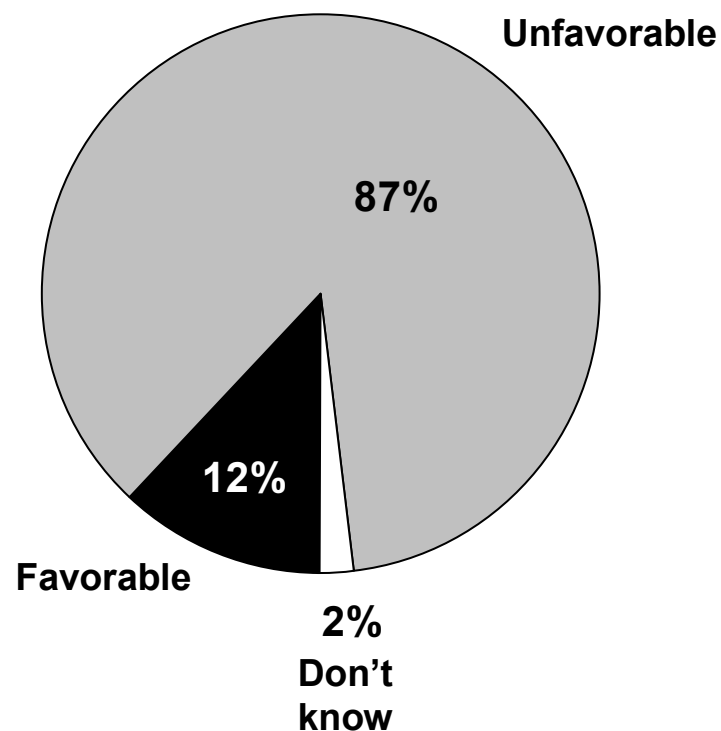
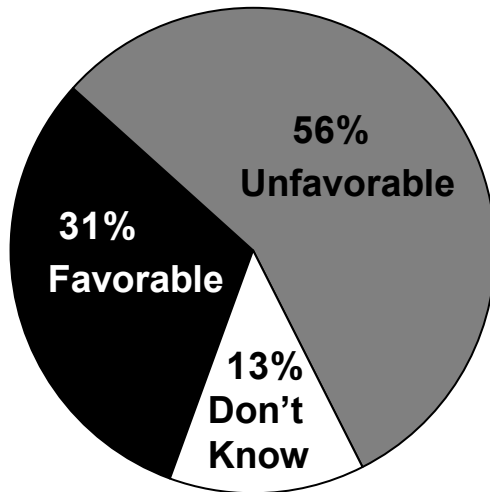


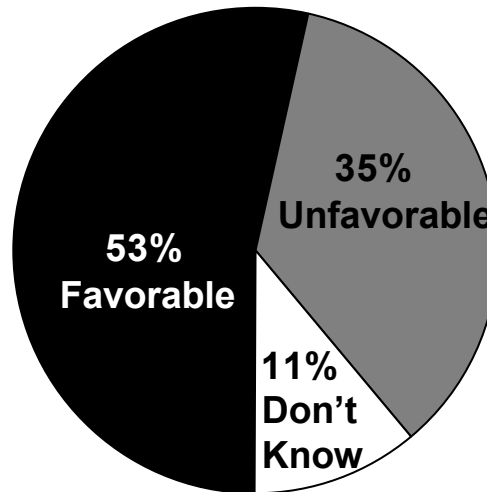
Chart 46

Views of the United States

Please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the United States government.



Please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Americans.



Do you support or oppose the current U.S. military presence in Iraq?

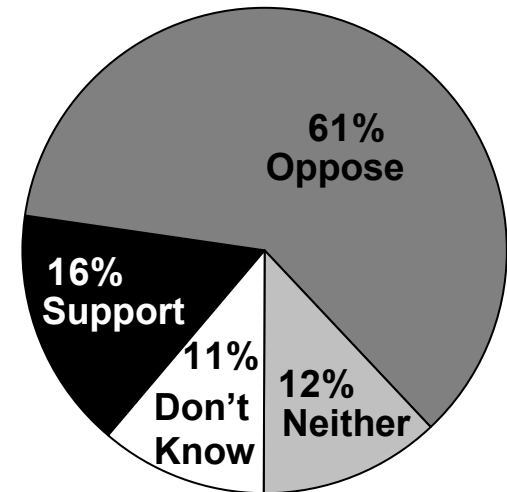
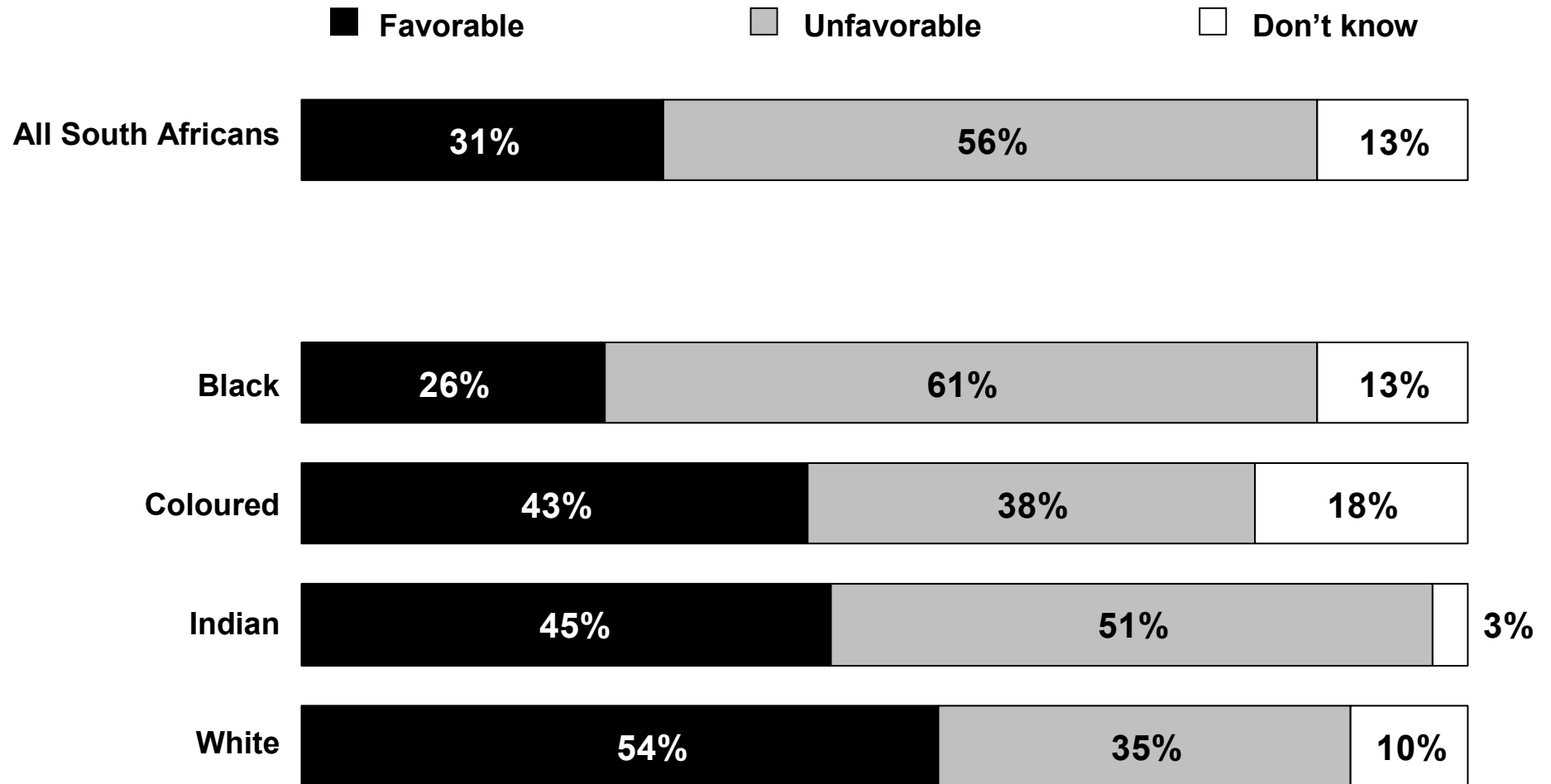


Chart 47

Views of the United States Government by Race

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the United States government?



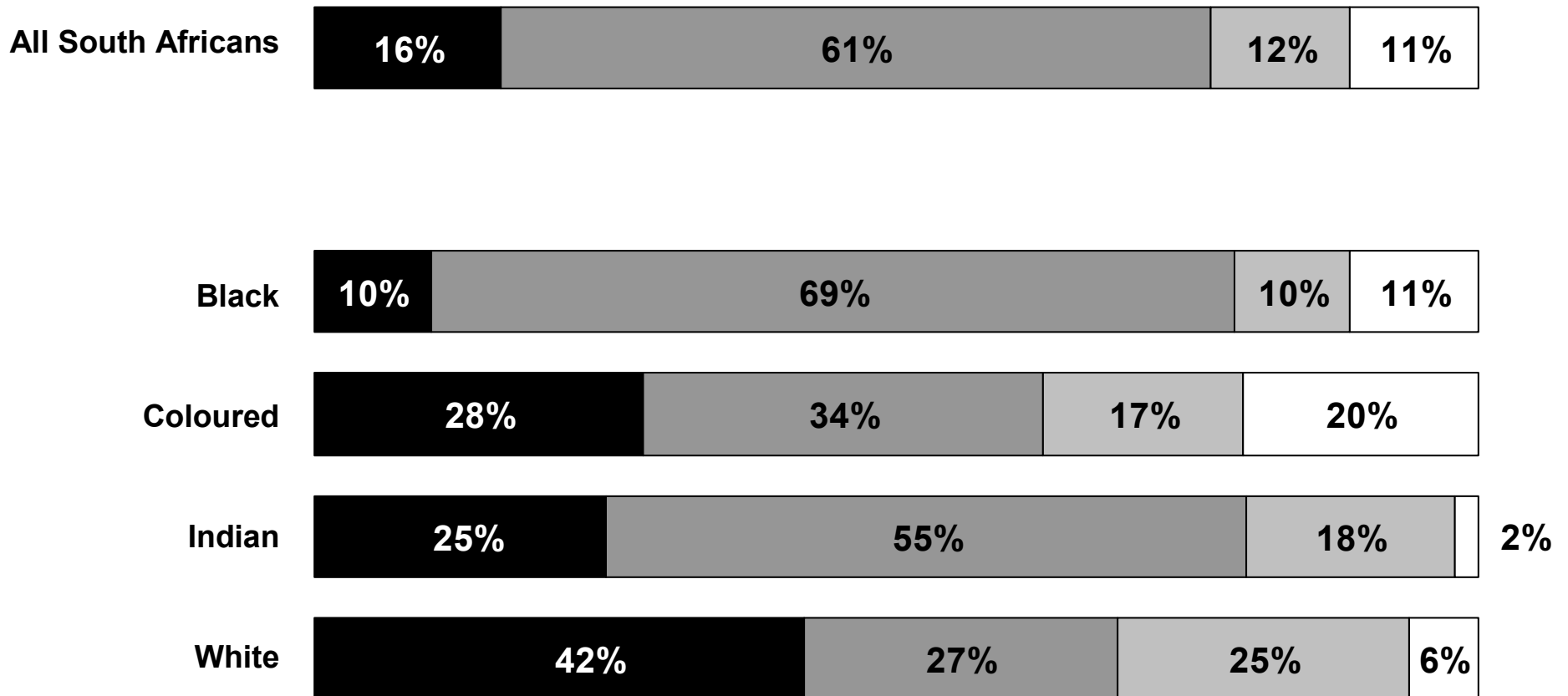
Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)

Chart 48

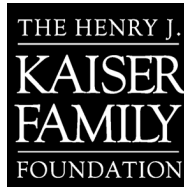
Views of U.S. Military Presence in Iraq by Race

Do you support or oppose the current U.S. military presence in Iraq?

■ Support ■ Oppose ■ Neither □ Don't know



Source: Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University *Survey of South Africans at Ten Years of Democracy* (conducted Sept. 29-Nov. 7, 2003)



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